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ABSTRACT

This dissertation surveys question-answer patterns in Mohawk conversation. After discussing some theoretical issues, a morpho-syntactic description of questions is presented and the description is expanded to the level of discourse. Although the approach followed is modelled on generative semantics, it departs from it in significant ways, in order to account for the discourse behaviour of questions. Topics treated within the discourse are the performative, discourse deixes, presuppositions, and focus. Application of these elements results in an overview of question types and of answer patterns observed in Mohawk. The study concludes with a sociolinguistic study of question functions, comparing them in everyday and classroom conversations. The aim of the study is to contribute some knowledge on Mohawk within a relatively unexplored domain, that of the conversation. In narrowing its scope to question-answer sequences, the study illustrates how linguistic elements are correlated to extralinguistic components, e.g. sociolinguistic functions, in verbal interaction. (Author/CLK)

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
IN
MOHAWK CONVERSATION

by

HANNY FEURER

A THESIS
Presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research of
McGill University
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

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né káti ne yatayotá:tvre

ne sukwaya?tísu shakowvnunyv́:ni

ne rotatukwe?tunyv́:ni

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This dissertation surveys question-answer patterns in Mohawk conversation. After discussing some theoretical issues, we begin with a morpho-syntactic description of questions, and then expand the description to the level of discourse. Although our approach is modelled on generative semantics, we depart from it in significant ways, in order to account for the discourse behaviour of questions. Topics treated within the discourse are the performative, discourse deixes, presuppositions, and focus. Application of these elements results in an overview of question types and of answer patterns observed in Mohawk. We conclude with a sociolinguistic study of question functions, comparing them in everyday and classroom conversations.

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QUESTIONS ET REPONSES EN
CONVERSATION MOHAWK

par

HANNY FEURER

RESUME

Ce travail est consacré à l'étude des patrons sous-jacents aux questions et réponses dans la conversation mohawk. Après discussion de certains problèmes théoriques, nous donnons une description morpho-syntaxique des questions, pour ensuite passer à une description des questions-réponses au niveau du discours. Notre approche théorique s'insère dans la tradition de la sémantique générative; cepandant, nous nous en écartons passablement afin d'arriver à une description plus adéquate des structures de questions à l'interieur du discours. Nous avons traité les aspects: performance, déictiques, présuppositions, et focus du discours. Il s'en dégage d'une part une typologie générale des questions, et d'autre part une charactérisation des réponses du mohawk. Nous terminons ce travail par une étude sociolinguistique comparative de fonctions des questions observées dans les conversations courantes et dans les conversations en classe.

Notre contribution a consisté dans l'étude du mohawk au point de vue conversation, domaine assez peu étudié. En nous limitant aux séquences question-réponse, nous avons illustré comment, dans une interaction verbale, les éléments linguistiques peuvent être mis en corrélation avec des facteurs extralinguistiques, comme par exemple les fonctions sociolinguistiques.

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KEY TO FIGURES

To be used with all Figures of Question Types and their respective percentages within Everyday and Classroom Functions. On the Figures, the following abbreviations have been utilized:

Abbreviation	Question Type
DSJ	Disjunctive (including yes-no questions)
WH	WH question
CND	Conditional
ECH	Echo
QUZ	Quiz
RHT	Rhetorical
QCL	Queclarative
WHM	Whimperative
TGC	Tag (confirmational) includes types5.3.9.1 and 3
TGY	Tag (yah) includes type 5.3.9.4

DSJ and WH are unmarked question types; the remaining question types are marked. In the latter, no distinction is made between DSJ and WH questions. For clarity, the numerical percentages of each question type have been listed to the left of each Figure. These percentages are a calculation from the total number of questions within that particular Function. Comment shall be made at the bottom of each Figure on the distribution frequency of the Function.

The solid bar represents the percentage of question types in everyday conversation, while the bar with diagonal lines represents the percentage of each classroom question type. Where bars are placed side by side in Figures 7.9 to 7.15, they indicate the relative distribution of everyday versus classroom question types within each Function. In Figures 7.9 to 7.15, the frequencies of a given Function in everyday and classroom conversation are not necessarily the same. They are shown in Figure 7.17. In Figure 7.17, arabic numerals take the place of roman numerals used in the text for the various functional categories.

NOTATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Notations.

(i) (a) Examples are given in a phonologically based Mohawk orthography (cf. Bonvillain (1973), and Michelson (1973));

parentheses enclose elements that have been deleted;

commas indicate a pause;

ellipsis points indicate deletion of the continued utterance.

(b) Interlinear translation is provided for each Mohawk example;

spacing indicates the word boundaries;

hyphens indicate morphemic divisions--they are not intended to be exhaustive nor to be sequentially arranged;

single quotation marks usually enclose the idiomatic translation of a morpheme;

parentheses enclose translations that are either assumed to have been deleted, or that are added in order to render the meaning of translation equivalents (morphemes) unambiguous.

(ii) Mohawk examples in the running text are underlined; their English glosses are given within single quotation marks.

(iii) Semantic material is represented by capital letters (cf. Chapters Four and Five).

2. Abbreviations.

A.	answer
A_D.	delay answer
Ap.	approval
C.	correction
CLFT	cleft particle
DUB	dubitative particle
EQ.	echo question
F	Function
FI	feminine/indefinite
FN	feminine/neuter
M	masculine
NEG	negation
NOM	nominal particle
NP	noun phrase
PL	plural
PNCT	punctual
PRCD	precondition
PRF	perfective
PRFR	performative
PRSP	presupposition
PRT	partitive
Q	question particle
Q.	question
Q_C.	confirmation question
Q_D.	delay question
Q_R.	repetition question
R.	response
REFL	reflexive
Rq.	request
SER	serial
St.	statement
U	utterance
U_D	discourse utterance

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of Purpose. In the last 25 years, several grammatical papers of importance have been written on Iroquoian languages.[1] Their scope of linguistic description has been the sound and word systems and, more rarely, the sentence construction. In no case has the sentence been studied in terms of its potential anchoring in the context of discourse. It is with a view to this end that we propose the following research:

(i) a syntactico-semantic study of question and answer formations in Mohawk conversation (including a section on WH morphemes);

(ii) an inquiry into sociolinguistic patterns observed in Mohawk question and answer usage in everyday and classroom conversations.

We shall venture into an area that is as yet relatively unknown to linguists: the sentence within the discourse. There is a dearth of material written about the sentence in Iroquoian languages. As well, there is a paucity of information about the sentence in conversations; this holds true for languages in general and Mohawk in particular. Therefore, linguistic aspects of questions and answers shall be correlated with extralinguistic factors (e.g. sociolinguistic functions) observed in both everyday and classroom conversations.

In this study, we have attempted to sift through various theoretical arguments that pertain to the analysis of questions and their answers within the discourse, assaying the most valuable contributions.[2] Of the topics that have been currently discussed on this issue, we have concentrated on those basic to any research into Mohawk question-answer discourse: disjunctive question, WH question, question type, answer and problems related to the discourse such as performative reading, discourse deixis, presuppositions, focus, and ultimately question functions. Whenever necessary, these concepts were enlarged upon and/or modified in order to account for question-answer particularities in Mohawk.

The subject of our research proved more complex than anticipated. Although we have operated as much as possible within a slightly modified generative semantics approach (Chapters Four and Five), the result is that the study presents a descriptive overview of Mohawk questions and their answers within conversation, rather than an explanatory one. The structure of utterances, whenever formalized, are simplified, near-surface representations. Consistent 'deepest level' representations would have been self-defeating for the purpose of one aspect of our study, which is an overview of questions.

Formalization has not always been applied, nor have transformational rules or constraints been regularly stated. The present state of development in discourse grammar is not advanced enough to lend itself to a unified approach.[3] This factor, as well as our present inadequate knowledge of the structure of Mohawk conversation have prevented us from unifying formalizations. To do so would be premature at this stage. Considerably more work will have to be done in the area of semantic representation and how it relates (i) to the surface of questions and answers, and (ii) to the discourse structure of question-answer pairs.

The study is thus strictly a preliminary, open-ended enterprise where questions and their answers are described in relation to their usage. The goal of our work being the study of language use, we finally attempted to explore more fully the correlation between question-answer structures and their possible uses. We feel that with our functional study, the discovery of social factors influencing questions and their answers has only been initiated. Foremost in such future work will be the study of social factors such as participants, the rôle they play, the setting , etc., and the way in which they affect the use and interpretation of functions of questions.

This research attempts to expose the linguistic and sociolinguistic rules underlying question-answer patterns in Mohawk conversation. We shall show that functions of questions in everyday speech differ from those of the classroom setting. Linguistic and social differences found in these patterns might shed light on the difficulty Mohawk children in Kanesatake have at school, even if the children's first language is now English. Perhaps the semantic and social rules they use are Mohawk rather than English; of course, there could be other factors involved too, such as, for example, attitudes.

Hopefully, some of these findings in everyday conversations will be further investigated and then applied to classroom interaction. It is the inalienable right of this country's natives to receive proper instruction in their language in a manner that is in accordance with all aspects of their way of life. This may imply some radical changes in teaching methods in Native schools.

1.2 Methodology.

1.2.1 General Background.

For one year, I had the privilege of visiting different schools in the province of Québec[4] and observing the teaching of the Indian students in their own respective mother tongues. Since the early 1970's, a Native language teaching program has been incorporated into most of the elementary schools in Québec that have a large Indian student population.

The people who teach the Native language to the Indian children are usually members of the respective communities who have a good knowledge of their own tongue. Most of them have had very little teacher training; though all are now taking linguistic and didactic courses under the sponsorship of the Department of Indian Affairs.

The Native language teaching program is concerned with first and second language situations: for the Cree in James Bay, the Cree language is taught as a first language. For the Mohawk children in Kanesatake, the Mohawk language is taught as a second language. In 1973-1974, Mohawk was only taught at the nursery and kindergarten levels in Kanesatake. Generally in Québec, aside from the Native language class, the Indian children were taught either in English or French;[5] in Kanesatake, the teaching language is English.

The asking of questions I have noticed to be one of the most frequently used techniques in the teaching of these children. The question was employed to teach new material, and to verify and control the learning process of the students. I have observed that Cree children especially, and also to a lesser degree Montagnais and Mohawk children, have been very hesitant and slow in their responses in the classroom--if there was any response at all.

The Mohawks have been publicly taught in English for at least three generations. In Kanesatake, the present generation under fifteen is the first generation that speaks mostly English. Their parents, with much difficulty, have acquired a certain fluency in English and/or French as their second and/or third language. They have decided to make it easier for their children by teaching them English or French. So they now speak English or French with their children, although most parents speak Mohawk when talking with their own peer group or with older Indian speakers. Most children understand Mohawk, but when parents still speak Mohawk to their children, the children answer back in English.

Assimilation is in progress. For example, one very strong means of re-enforcing the English language and culture is the television. Another is the fact that these Mohawk children have to travel to Provincial schools outside Kanesatake. Yet, assimilation does not appear to be so rapid at school--for these Mohawk children are slower and more quiet than their white companions, despite their acquisition of the English language.

1.2.2 Fieldwork. The research was mostly conducted with members of the Oka band in Kanesatake (Oka), Québec, from February 1973 to

April 1974. Kanesatake, besides St. Regis and Caughnawaga, is one of three locations in Québec where Mohawk, a northern Iroquoian language, is spoken. Everyday conversations were recorded in Kanesatake. In April 1974, classroom conversations were collected in St. Regis, since Mohawk was not yet taught to elementary school children from Kanesatake.

The compilation of data proved to be quick in St. Regis, but both slow and difficult in Kanesatake. At first, various prejudices against myself as an intruder, made people unavailable as consultants on a regular basis. Through my living with a family, various visits within the community, the participation in some social events, and the tutoring of a child, a trust relationship slowly came into being. For example, in the beginning of October 1973, the Band Council offered me the use of the community hall for study purposes; in December of that year, I found the first person who was willing to work with me on a regular basis.

My experience confirms that the more a culture is in danger of being assimilated, the more acute will be the reaction to outsiders. Researchers will have to adjust their demands according to the needs, fears, and interests of the community, if they want to help to preserve rather than to destroy a culture.

1.2.3 Data and Methods of Data Acquisition.

1.2.3.1 Consultants. My two regular consultants have been two women, one in her late fifties and one in her late thirties. They are both fluent speakers of English, French and Mohawk. Occasional consultants have been men and women representing the age group between early twenties and early sixties. None of them know how to write Mohawk, although some of their relatives know the traditional Jesuit writing system.

1.2.3.2 Elicitation Procedures. The first part of my research consisted of studying the gross morphological and syntactic framework of Mohawk as it is spoken in Kanesatake. I collected simple, everyday stories in the hope of finding syntactic structures that reoccur in everyday speech or conversation. I moved on to discourse elicitation after I discovered style particularities in narration that do not occur in daily speech.

The second part of my research consisted of compiling the essential material for the analysis of question-answer patterns. According to formal criteria, there are six WH morphemes (in the literature often referred to as question words) in Mohawk. Each one of the six were systematically placed into different grammatical constructions until the syntactic scope for each morpheme had been established.[6]

The answers that I compiled seemed to be unusually long and rather formal and artificial since they were isolated from linguistic and extralinguistic context; examples are: absence of ellipsis in the answer (syntax), and intonation patterns that were different from informal speech. Patterns, once discovered, had then to be verified in natural conversation.

1.2.3.3 *Collection of Conversations.* Conversations were recorded in diverse everyday situations in Kanesatake, and in classroom settings in St. Regis, the only reserve in Québec where Mohawk is still spoken by some children.

(i) *Everyday conversations*: The following is a list of recorded and analysed Kanesatake conversations, ranging in style between semi-informal (a-d), and casual speech (e, f):

(a)	consultant with her son (15 years)	(15 minutes)
(b)	consultant with fortune teller (80 years)	(90 minutes)
(c)	consultant with chief's son (12 years) and her son (15 years)	(40 minutes)
(d)	two couples during a visit	(90 minutes)
(e)	family dinner conversations (parents and three children between 2½ and 7 years)	(90 minutes)
(f)	social conversation after dinner among five adults	(15 minutes)

In the above data, language use ranges from high-valued speech (e.g. (5.58)) to low-valued speech (e.g. (6.48)). The rating was done by different consultants. It would appear that there is a general knowledge shared across the community about what is considered to be the norm in speaking. Notice that this knowledge is in absence of (and, therefore, independent of) a written code which often imposes its norm on speaking.

Consultants have suggested correction of some of the 'badly' phrased utterances. I have left them untouched (and unrated)--the way they occurred within the conversation. An amazing phenomenon of verbal interaction is the fact that all different kinds of linguistic offences occasionally committed do not necessarily render communication ambiguous. Context and intuition of the addressee make up for this.

(ii) Classroom conversations: Classroom conversations were recorded (120 minutes) at two St. Regis elementary schools during Mohawk classes, where the teacher as well as the students were fluent in Mohawk.[7] Mohawk is usually taught as a second language to mixed student groups of speakers and non-speakers. Three groups of Mohawk-speaking students (bilingual) were especially set up for first language teaching lessons. They were recorded as follows:

(a)	grade 2/3	(three 30-minute lessons)
(b)	grade 4	(one 15-minute lesson)
(c)	grade 5/6	(one 15-minute lesson)

1.2.3.4 Data Analysis. My analysis is based on the data of question-answer pairs compiled in conversation (performance) rather than on data compiled during formal elicitation; reasons are stated above in 1.2.3.2. The analytic procedures employed are quite standard substitution methods, but the difference here is that the conceptualization of the question-answer system is primarily seen as cultural rather than formal.

1.3 A Brief History of Kanesatake (Oka).[8] In the first half of the seventeenth century, Kanesatake was settled by three groups of different linguistic affiliations: the Mohawks, the Algonquins, and the Nipissings. These groups were moved originally from Mont Royal and settled by the Messieurs de St. Sulpice, under the auspices of the French Crown, in Kanesatake 25 miles west of Montréal in 1721. The Messieurs de St. Sulpice took liberties with the land appointed for the Indians' uses; they sold large portions to non-Indians. The majority Indian group was, and still is, composed of Mohawk speakers. In the late nineteenth century, some of their families migrated to Gibson, Ontario because of conflicts with the Sulpicians; later, some of the Algonquins migrated to Maniwaki, Québec. Today, the two minority groups--the Algonquins and the Nipissings--have been assimilated linguistically by the dominant Mohawks through intermarriage.

1.4 Basic Mohawk Grammar. It is not our intention to restate all the work done on Mohawk Grammar.[9] Only a brief outline will now be given to initiate the reader.

1.4.1 Word Order. Mohawk is an SVO language[10] shown by the natural word order in (1.1) and (1.2).

	S	V	O
(1.1)	érhar	wa?oká:ri?	takó:s
	dog	it-bit-it	cat
	The dog bit a cat.		

	S	V	O
(1.2)	takó:s	wa?oká:ri?	érhar
	cat	it-bit-it	dog
	The cat bit a dog.		

In conversations, the word order varies greatly. The agent (S) and the patient (O) are indicated more often by the pronominal prefixes of the verb than by the word order itself.

	O	S	V
(1.3)	swasv́n	ní:?i*	rinú:we?s
	George	NOM-I	I-like-him
	I like George.		

	V	O
(1.4)	rinú:we?s	swasv́n
	I-like-him	George
	I like George.	

	S	V
(1.5)	swasv́n	rakinú:we?s
	George	he-likes-me
	George likes me.	

The pronominal prefix ri- in the predicate rinú:we?s indicates that the subject is the first person singular (n)í:?i in (1.3), and the object, the third person masculine singular swasv́n in (1.3) and (1.4). In (1.5), swasv́n takes on the rôle of the subject as indicated by the pronominal prefix rak-, meaning he-(to)-me.

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* n(e) í:?i → ní:?i. The following morphonemic rule has been applied: ne → n/___V. ne is contracted before a constituent starting with a vowel.

1.4.2 Morphology. The verb in Mohawk is the main source of information. Each verb contains pronominal prefixes that refer to the agent and/or patient. Other markers are the tense aspect, mode, and case. Location, repetition, negation, and number further modify the predication. The verb is evidently a very complex construction. It contains four possible classes of morphological components that occur in the following positional order:

(i) prepronominal prefixes (optional): negation, partitive prefix, location, etc.

(ii) pronominal prefixes (obligatory): subjective, objective, transitive

(iii) verb stem (obligatory): reflexive, incorporated noun root (patient), verb roots

(iv) verb suffixes (optional): case, aspect, attributives.

In (1.6), we shall illustrate a verb with an incorporated noun.

(1.6) wa?kateranayv́hne?

wa?	+ k	+ ate	+ rvn	+ a	+ yv́h	+ ne	+ ?[*]
aorist tense	+ 'I'	+ semi-reflexive	+ 'song'	+ epenthetic vowel	+ 'deliver'	+ purposive	+ punctual

I am going to church.

I am not glossing the verb fully, since such information would not aid the reader. I am noting only the subject, object and transitive prefixes[11] and, where relevant, certain prepronominal prefixes.

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[*] ? stands for a glottal stop / ? /, v for a nasal / ʌ /, and u for a nasal / u /. See 1.4.3.

The verb is one of the three lexical types that comprise the Mohawk morphology. The two others are the noun and the particle. Nouns are simpler in their internal structure than verbs. They consist of a noun-stem, a pronominal prefix that refers to its designated person or object, and a nominal suffix. The suffixed morphemes specify the location, the number, the condition, etc. The noun morphemes are ordered as follows:

(i) pronominal prefix: refers to object or person designated, and the number (does not appear on some nouns)

(ii) noun stem: single or compound noun root or nominalized verb

(iii) nominal suffix: noun suffix, augmentative, diminutive, locative, number, decessive, etc. (does not appear on some nouns)

The noun construction is illustrated in (1.7) and (1.8):

(1.7) kaná:ta

ka	+ nat	+ a
neuter pronominal prefix	+ 'village'	+ noun suffix

village

(1.8) akenaktá:ke

ake	+ nakt	+ a	+ ke
possessive pronominal prefix	+ 'bed'	+ epenthetic vowel	+ locative

on my bed

The simplest and most restricted morphological type is that of the particle. Its internal structure is simple and in most cases unanalyzable. Particles occur alone, as compounds, or as phrases. Their semantic and syntactic significance is yet relatively unknown. We know that within the discourse, they act as utterance referents, connectors and modifiers. Within the utterance, they indicate relationships between the verb and the noun. Spatial and temporal, as well as other information can be obtained in this manner.

Often, my consultants searched in vain for translation equivalents in English or for meaning differences between particles. Translation equivalents do not always exist. However, in some cases, they would be capable of explaining the function of the particles in question: for example, their modification of a verb or a noun concerned. We suggest preliminarily, that there are at least two types of particles: (i) particles that modify, at the phrase level, either the noun or the verb; (ii) particles that act, beyond the phrase level, as utterance modifiers, connectors, coordinators, subordinators and thematizers. The use of the term 'utterance' as against the term 'sentence' is explained in 1.4.2.

(i) The verbial particle sotsi modifies the verb in (1.9).

(1.9) sótsi rahnekìhrha
too-much he-drinks-liquid
He drinks too much.

ne is a nominal particle (NOM) that indicates the definiteness of the modified noun:

(1.10) to nithó:yu ne satshé:nv
how PRT-he-is-old NOM your-animal
How old is your animal?

(ii) The particle kv indicates a yes-no interrogative in the surface structure and thus acts as an utterance modifier:

(1.11) kv́:tho kv vséhseke?
here Q you-will-walk-about-again
Are you going to stay here?

The kati functions as a discourse connector, relating the preceding utterance event with that of the following one:

(1.12) St.* tho nitya?tó:tv? tsi ní:yot
there PRT-my-body-is-a-kind that PRT-it-is-like
I look like

ne roskvrhaké?teh
NOM war-club-bearer (male)
a boy (male).

Q. káti nutyé:rv wahsatenú?kare?
therefore PRT-it-is-a-matter you-cut-your-hair
Therefore, why did you have your hair cut?

1.4.3 Simple and Complex Utterances. The term 'utterance' applies to units within the discourse, just as the term 'sentence' applies to units within a traditional grammar. We shall refrain, as much as possible, from using the term 'sentence' since, in linguistic literature, it generally refers to isolated units outside of the discourse context.

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*St stands for statement.

Sequences within the discourse often seem to be fragmentary and unacceptable if isolated. Yet, within the discourse context, they are meaningful units. For example, an utterance sequence containing a noun only, becomes acceptable within its respective discourse context where it is part of the predication process. We, therefore, shall use the term 'utterance' whenever reference is made to a meaningful discourse sequence.

A minimal utterance, conversation-initial, is composed of a verb:

(1.13) rinú:we?s
I-like-him
I like him.

As we have mentioned previously, the verb contains pronominal references to its arguments, the subject and the object. The subject can be restated (cf. (1.4)) and also the object (cf. (1.3)), or both together (cf. (1.1)). A minimal utterance, non-conversation-initial, can be composed of a noun, for instance, that takes on different syntactic functions. In the following example, the answer is composed of a locative:

(1.14)	Q.	ka?	nú	íhsehre?	akenv?tyá:ka?
		which	PRT-place	you-want-it	I-should-cut-pine-tree
		Where do you want me to cut the pine tree?			
	A.	onv?tó:ku			
		at-pines			
		At the pines.			

The answer is an ellipsis. The old information, stated by the questioner, is not restated overtly in (1.14 A) since the locative only is looked for. We suggest that the answer in (1.14) contains an underlying structure locative-verb-object, of which the locative only is expressed overtly as an appropriate discourse sequence. In certain contexts, this answer could be further reduced to:

(1.15)	tho	(plus gesture)
	there	
	There.	

or expanded to the following embedded utterance:

(1.16)	thi	ohná:kv	tsi	yakwahyv́htha?	nu
	there	'in-the-back'	where	we-cause-fruit-to-fall	PRT-place
	There behind the apple orchard				

	kv?	niwá?a	kárhayv?	ki?
	so	PRT-it-is-small	forest-is-lying	precise
	in the small wood,			

	nu	vhsenv?tyá:ke
	PRT-place	you-will-cut-tree
	that is where you will cut a tree.	

Notice how Mohawk expresses the equivalent of the English locative phrase 'behind the apple orchard' by a sentential locative. This latter contains an embedded relative clause that is introduced by the particle *tsi*. Notice also how the independent Mohawk clause *kv? niwá?a karháyv?* '(in) the small wood' in (1.16) is a dependent noun phrase in English.

The embedded Mohawk utterances are not always marked overtly for their dependency. Intonation, content, and ordering of the clauses often indicate subordination. More work has yet to be done in this area. In this study, we shall only occasionally refer to all the above. Research findings on intonation are not sufficiently advanced presently to merit their systematic inclusion.

1.4.4 *Phonology*. In Mohawk, the consonant phonemes are: t, k, ?, ts, s, h, n, r, y, and w.[12] The vowel phonemes comprise oral vowels: i, e, a, o; and nasal vowels: ũ and Λ̃. In addition, there are phonemic features such as length, high tone and falling tone. Stress generally is penultimate. Its variants are ultimate or antepenultimate. The transcription used in this study is based on the above phonemic symbols with the exceptions of ?, ũ, Λ̃, and ´` which are transcribed respectively as ?, u, v, and ´;[13] length is marked with a colon :.

1.5 Outline. The present study begins in Chapter Two with a theoretical discussion of issues at hand in dealing with questions.

In Chapter Three, the surface structure of questions will be analysed under two separate headings: the disjunctive (yes-no) and the WH interrogatives. A description of WH morphemes and their uses is followed by a syntactic description of disjunctive questions.

In Chapter Four, we deal with questions and answers within an enlarged descriptive framework--that of the discourse. Although a generative semantic approach is advocated, we depart from it significantly, in order to account for the utterance within the discourse. Issues introduced and treated within the discourse are the performative hypersentence, discourse deixes, presuppositions, and focus.

In Chapter Five, questions are classified into marked or unmarked question types--according to their modalities--from within a discourse-oriented approach.

In Chapter Six, we take up the problem of how answers relate to questions. From within a presuppositional viewpoint, we suggest a preliminary characterization of answer patterns observed in Mohawk conversation.

Chapter Seven is an attempt to correlate linguistic aspects of questions to socio-cultural features. The study thus ends with a sociolinguistic description of functions observed within everyday question-answer usage and classroom question-answer interaction. The eighth Chapter contains a critical assessment of this study's achievements and implications.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. The basic source is Floyd G. Lounsbury's *Oneida Verb Morphology* (1953), (for full reference see Bibliography). Other texts (a number of them by Lounsbury's students) are Wallace Chafe's *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* (1967: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 4. Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Press); Wallace Chafe's *A Semantically Based Sketch of Onondaga* (1970: *International Journal of American Linguistics* 36:2(II)); Paul Postal's *Some Syntactic Rules in Mohawk* (1962) in Bibliography; *Mohawk Morphology* (1972) by John Beatty, in Bibliography; *A Grammar of Akwesasne Mohawk* (1972) by Nancy Bonvillain, in Bibliography; Marianne Williams' *A Grammar of Tuscarora* (1974) in Bibliography; *A Mohawk-English Dictionary* (1971) by Nancy Bonvillain and Beatrice Francis, in Bibliography; *A Thousand Words of Mohawk* (1973) by Gunther Michelson, in Bibliography; Clifford Abbott's *An Oneida Dictionary* (1974 preliminary version), unpublished MS; and Michael K Foster's *From the Earth to Beyond the Sky: An Ethnographic Approach to Four Longhouse Iroquois Speech Events* (1974: Ottawa: National Museum of Man).

2. Questions and answers have been studied together because (i) they are sequential units within the discourse, and (ii) the differences between questions and their usages can only be analyzed when recourse is taken to their respective answers.

3. For example, within the discourse, presuppositions were used in the sense of performative preconditions, on the one hand (Chapter Four), whereas on the other hand, these preconditions were dealt with as an intrinsic part of the performative reading (Chapter Five).

4. Most of these schools consisted only of Indian children. They were located on Indian Reserves and administrated by the Department of Indian Affairs of Canada. The other schools had a mixed population of Indian and white children. These schools were always located outside of the reserve and the Indian pupils formed a minority of the school community. Their programs were administered by the Provincial Governments of Québec and Ontario.

5. Since we have written this text, some lower grades up in James Bay are now being taught mostly in Cree.

The Québec Provincial Government's *Rapport ...* (1970), p. 80, states the languages spoken in Kanesatake as: Mohawk 100%, English 75%, and French 25%. Note the discrepancy between this and the information from the Indian Affairs and Northern Development Department given on page 306 of Appendix I, History of Kanesatake.

6. Based on the lists of questions and responses which occurred in the recorded conversations, a series of further procedures were used to isolage units of the question-answer system, and to amplify substitution-response classes. The morphologically isolable forms which have occurred in the lists of questions were placed by the analyst in different syntactic contexts. The consultant then was asked which of these may occur. In this manner, the syntactic limits of each WH morpheme were determined.

7. I owe gratitude to the principals and particularly to the Mohawk language teachers for their graciousness in permitting me to observe and record Mohawk-speaking students.

8. For a more thorough historical background to the Mohawks in Kanesatake, see Appendix I, History of Kanesatake, at the end of this thesis.

9. Recent papers on Mohawk to be consulted in the Bibliography are found under the following names: Beatty, Bonvillain, and Michelson.

10. For a more involved discussion on this subject, in respect to Tuscarora (a Northern Iroquoian language), see Marianne Williams (1974a and b).

11. The transitive prefixes are fused pronouns that mark the co-occurrence of the agent and the patient within the predication. These pronouns are difficult to analyze; yet, where possible, the general ordering seems to be the subject first and then the object.

12. There are also two peripheral consonant phonemes p and m, which are of foreign origin.

13. In accordance with the Mohawk orthography which is actually used, we shall mark the stressed vowel without differentiating the high from the falling tone. There are relatively few minimal pairs contrasting the two tones.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF QUESTION-ANSWER FORMATIONS

2.1 Introduction. Question-answer pairs refer to utterance types and their sequences occurring within conversation, which is part of the discourse. We, therefore, have to select a theoretical framework that is broad enough to take into account aspects of language on the one hand, and language as an integrated part of discourse on the other. Such an attempt has been made by Fillmore (1973) who postulates a set of principles that pertain to these two dimensions.

2.2 Fillmore's Theoretical Framework. His set of principles can be condensed as follows (Fillmore (1973: 113-114)):

(i) **Linguistic description for each lexical item in the language:**
  a) the grammatical context in which it might occur,
  b) the grammatical processes to which it is subject (transformation and restriction rules),
  c) speech act conditions, conversation rules and semantic interpretation associated with the item.

(ii) Grammatical description for each sentence:
  a) the 'deep structure'[1] underlying each sentence,
  b) the grammatical processes by which 'deep structure' representations are transformed into surface sentences.

(iii) Principles for deriving the semantic and pragmatic description of a sentence in its possible uses.

(iv) A theory of communication acts (speech acts) that empowers principle (iii) to account for discourse rules.

(v) A theory of discourse which describes sentences within conversational contexts.

(vi) A theory of natural logic by which conditions of success or appropriateness of speech acts within a conversation can be deduced.

An enormous amount of further research is necessary in order to refine and elaborate the above-mentioned areas into a comprehensive theory of language.

2.3 Theoretical Framework of Question-Answer Formations. The present study is an attempt to explore further the areas of discourse that pertain particularly to questions and their answers in Mohawk. Fillmore shall be used as an initial guideline.

Very little is known about the grammatical structures of Mohawk. What is known is mostly morphological in nature; this shall serve as our point of departure.[2] We shall ignore the morphological segmentation of the utterances under analysis, with the exception of those features that signal or relate to question-answer formations on the surface level.

Principle (i). In any language, questions are signalled by overt surface features such as intonation, question particles, and/or question words. According to Fillmore's outline, principle (i), we shall commence our investigation with a distributional survey of the question particle and WH morphemes (in 3.1, 3.2, and 3.2.1-5), their semantic interpretation, and speech act conditions to which they are subject (in 3.3.6).

We thus shall discuss the question particle and the WH morpheme, each one within its respective grammatical context. Grammatical processes are discussed within the domain of syntax (principle (ii)).[3]

Principle (ii). Addressing ourselves to principle (ii), we shall now discuss different theoretical approaches on the grammatical nature of questions.

Within the generative approach, different linguists have advanced different hypotheses about the grammatical nature of interrogative sentences. Chomsky (1957) postulated that interrogative sentences were derived from declarative ones[4] by the application of question-formation transformations. These transformations were optional and did not preserve meaning. Katz & Postal (1964) recovered meaning by positing two deep structure elements in direct questions: the question morpheme 'Q' with a 'performative reading'[5] that identifies semantically an interrogative sentence[6] and the WH morpheme that identifies the questioned constituent. This underlying WH morpheme, Katz & Postal proposed for both the yes-no questions and the WH questions. In the yes-no questions, the WH morpheme was attached to the sentence adverb 'either/or' (questioned constituent). The yes-no questions were thus treated as special cases of disjunctive questions--

S (affirmed) or $\overline{S}$ (negated)--a transformationally reduced version of two disjoined sentences. (Ever since, linguists such as Langacker, and Stockwell, Schachter & Partee (1973) have conceived the yes-no questions as derived from underlying disjunctive constructs.)

Baker (1970) and Bresnan (1970) posit a segmental Q without a performative reading. Baker's Q is an operator in direct and indirect questions that indexes each questioned constituent. In clause-initial question position, Baker's revised Q is lexicalized as 'whether/if'. WH is introduced transformationally. Schachter (1968) also criticizes Katz & Postal's use of Q as a trigger. He suggests that this function could equally well be executed by the node:

CONJ
[+ OR]
[+ WH]

He differentiates yes-no questions from WH questions on semantic grounds. The yes-no questions are derived by him from disjunctive (alternative) questions. These disjunctive questions act as true paraphrases of yes-no questions, since their second disjunct is a negation of the first one.

Bresnan (1970) proposes also a segmental Q, conceptualized as complementizer alternating with 'that' and 'for'. She derives 'whether' from Q + 'either' but does not specify the other properties of Q.

Kuno & Robinson (1972) argue against indexing as proposed by Baker. If a Q has several possible readings, then the different readings should be accounted for in terms of conventions that determine appropriate question-answer pairs and not in terms of structural indexing. They suggest a principle of control proposed by Langacker (1969) that would make indexing redundant.[7]

Langacker (1969, 1970) follows and updates Katz & Postal (1964), Ross (1967), and Stockwell, Schachter & Hall (1968) by treating yes-no questions as derivations from an underlying disjunctive construct. WH is incorporated into the disjunctive construct and symbolized as WH + OR, an ad-hoc abbreviation for Katz & Postal's 'WH + either/or' conjunction (cf. Langacker, 1974, p. 22). Two transformation rules then apply in the yes-no question formation: the deletion of the conjunct and the 'Or Not' deletion.

In conclusion, Katz & Postal attempted to show that yes-no questions are special cases of WH questions. Langacker (1969) also treats both question types as reflecting one underlying structure. However, contrary to Katz & Postal, he conceives WH questions as special cases of disjunctive ones.

In this study, we are not going to follow through on all these arguments. We refer the interested reader to previous references. We made allusion to the above authors for several reasons: firstly, to point out that there has not been found yet a grammatical description of question formations that is adequate and thus of universal nature; secondly, to serve as a theoretical background to the approach that we are going to suggest in this paper.

We shall opt with Langacker (1974) against a segmental Q analysis, and yet for a performative clause analysis along with Ross (1970), Schreiber (1972), and Sadock (1975). Our study shall deal with questions as intrinsic members of question-answer pairs within the discourse. We thus subscribe to Kuno & Robinson's observation (1972) that questions are subject to discourse conventions and, therefore, cannot be analyzed appropriately by a syntax-oriented grammar. Although we shall start with a description of surface markers within the question-answer pairs, we shall then insert them within a broader framework--that of the discourse.

Principles (iii) to (vi). According to Fillmore's principles (iii) to (vi), we intend to show in Chapter Four the manner in which the morphological and syntactic aspects of questions can be integrated into the discourse. We have previously suggested that each question has a performative reading. We now suggest that each answer also has a performative reading. This implies that questions and answers can and, therefore, should be analyzed semantically. The theoretical framework of the linguistic study will be that of generative semantics as postulated, for example, by McCawley, and Lakoff, and applied as well as expanded by Chang, Williams, and Woodbury. The latter two have used generative semantics for Iroquoian languages. This approach hopefully will permit the statement of some interesting generalizations about Mohawk questions and answers.

The theory has as a basis the following set of principles which underlie this study:

(i) Syntactic and semantic representations are of the same formal nature.

(ii) A single system of rules acts as the generative source of the grammar, relating the semantic representation through consecutive stages to the surface structure.

(iii) Non-terminal node labels in semantic representations are S, NP, and V, corresponding respectively to proposition, argument, and predicate.

Although theoretically we have chosen generative semantics, we shall depart considerably from this theory. Our grammar is discourse-oriented, whereas generative semantics is usually sentence-oriented. A discourse frame with a performative reading (Ross, 1970), speaker index, time index, and place index shall be introduced. According to us, focus and presuppositions are also originated and, therefore, introduced in the structure of the discourse.

The term 'discourse' we shall characterize in formal terms as proposed by Chang (1972):

> ... discourse D generates a set of utterances, U_1, U_2, ..., U_n such that U is semantically cohesive with U_j, where U_i is immediately preceded by U_j in D. ... 'Semantic cohesiveness' ... must include, among others, temporal, causal, implicational, and similar relations between U_i and U_j. (p. 3)

In the discourse, utterances, rather than sentences,[8] are generated. Sentences as linguistically-perceived units of analysis will be 'contextualized utterances'. The term 'context' is used in two ways: linguistically and extralinguistically. The linguistic context of U_i is (according to Chang) co-terminous with the domains of the discourse D. The extralinguistic context covers such factors as social settings and cultural conventions shared by the participants, functions, etc. Further detailed presentation and discussion of the discourse will follow in Chapter Four. Though its elaboration in that chapter will be mainly in linguistic terms, the discourse shall be restated and discussed more fully in sociolinguistic terms in Chapter Seven.

In conclusion, Fillmore's outline shall no longer be referred to. However, his six principles can be traced throughout the thesis. For example, principle (iii) is illustrated in Chapter Four and beyond; principle (iv) mainly in Chapters Four and Five; principle (v) in Chapter Seven; and principle (vi) in Chapters Four and Six. Although the limited scope of our research does not permit us to develop Fillmore's proposal, our findings confirm the validity of such a guideline.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Considering that our approach is that of generative semantics, we shall refer to 'semantic representations' rather than to 'deep structure' in Chapter Four and on. In Chapter Three, though, reference is made to 'deep structure'.

2. See Beatty, Bonvillain, and Michelson on Mohawk morphology, and Lounsbury on Oneida, a closely related Iroquoian language.

3. We are fully aware that we are ignoring the psychological/philosophical aspects of questions and answers that were recognized, yet not dealt with, for example, by Bolinger (1957). These aspects appear in the writings of philosophers and logicians (see Aqvist (1965), and Belnap (1969)). However, they have been carefully avoided by linguists within the transformational traditions.

4. He made a clear distinction between yes-no and WH questions.

5. ' ... I request that you answer ... ' (1964), p. 89.

6. Q in addition triggers certain transformation rules such as intonation for yes-no questions, subject-auxiliary inversion, and deletion of sentence-initial 'whether' (which is derived from WH + 'either') and WH-movement.

7. According to Langacker (1974), the generalized principle of control can be stated roughly as follows:

> "If two identical nodes A^1 and A^2 both command some other node B, and A^1 commands A^2 asymmetrically (i.e. A^1 commands A^2 but A^2 does not command A^1), then any transformational or semantic scope relation between A and B can hold only between A^2 and B, never between A^1 and B." (p. 7)

Langacker further specifies:

> "The principle of control predicts that a question word will always be in the scope of the most immediately commanding interrogative predicate; hence who in 'Who remembers where we bought which book?' will be in the scope of V, the performative predicate, while both where and which will be in the scope of the interrogative predicate remembers. Because the scope relations follow automatically from a general principle, indexing would be superfluous; it is only necessary to indicate which indefinite elements are being questioned, and WH is the obvious choice for the marker." (ibid.)

8. See statement on the use of the term 'utterance' in 1.4.3.

CHAPTER THREE

MOHAWK INTERROGATIVES

3.1 Introduction: Interrogative Surface-Features.

Mohawk interrogative sentences differ from declarative sentences by having (i) the question particle in second position, or (ii) a WH morpheme in initial position. The declarative counterpart of questions (3.2) - (3.4) is shown in (3.1).

(3.1) yakoyó?te?
she-works
She is working.

(i) The question particle kv in second position, (3.2).

(3.2) yakoyó?te? kv
she-works Q
Is she working?

The question particle occurs also in second position within the first and within the second disjunct of a disjunctive question, (3.3).

(3.3) yakoyó?te? kv kátu kv yah teyakoyó?te?
she-works Q or Q not she-works
Is she working or isn't she working?

Notice that two elements occur within a disjunctive question: kátu 'or', and kv 'question particle'. In the yes-no question (3.2), kv 'question particle' occurs which may or may not be deleted. Morphologically, the question particle as an unanalyzable entity is of no interest whatsoever. Its primary function is that of a syntactic question marker. We, therefore, shall examine it more thoroughly, within the context of syntax in 3.4.

(ii) WH morpheme in first position.

(3.4) ká?tke vyakoyó?te?
when she-will-work
When is she going to work?

Further, both the question particle and the WH morpheme also occur in their respective second and first positions within embedded sentences. This is exemplified by indirect questions, as in (3.5) and (3.6), and by quoted questions, as in (3.7) and (3.8).

(3.5) yah tewakateryv́:tare tóka kv ayakoyó?te? tóka
not I-know-it maybe DUB she-would-work maybe
I don't know whether she is working

yah tayakoyó?te?
not she-would-work
or not.

(3.6) yah tewakateryv́:tare ká?tke vyakoyó?te?
not I-know-it when she-will-work
I don't know when she is going to work.

(3.7) wahari?wanútu vyórhv?ne kv vsayó?te?
he-asked tomorrow Q you-will-work
He asked: 'Are you working tomorrow?'.

(3.8) wahari?wanútu ká?tke vyakoyó?te?
he-asked when she-will-work
He asked: 'When is she going to work?'.

Finally, Mohawk interrogative sentences, in particular the yes-no questions, differ from declarative sentences by their intonation pattern. Yes-no questions can be distinguished from their corresponding declarative utterances solely by means of the question intonation. This phenomenon seems to be very common among languages. In English, for instance, yes-no questions are marked by a terminal rising contour. Whereas in Kanesatake Mohawk, the yes-no questions are distinctively marked by a initial rising pitch on the first stressed syllable in the utterance. This rising pitch at the beginning of the question is higher than in declarative sentences. (The declarative sentence usually starts with a rising contour and ends with a falling one.) If the question contour is absent, the interrogative particle or the discourse context will signal a yes-no question.

In conversations, the interrogative sentence is perceived as a question that asks for an answer. In this chapter, we shall focus on the features of the question alone: (i) a quick classificatory survey (in 3.2) shall be followed by (ii) a more detailed description of the question features (in 3.3) including:

(a) their segmental composition (morphological features); and
(b) their positional relationship to clauses, or clause constituents (syntax).

3.2 Classification of Mohawk Questions.

Based mainly on formal criteria, the questions in Mohawk can be classified into two major groups:

(i) Disjunctive questions
(ii) WH questions

3.2.1 Disjunctive Questions.

Disjunctive questions are composed of two groups:

(i) 'X or not-X' questions ('theme or not-theme' questions)
(ii) 'X or X' questions (choice questions)

3.2.1.1 'X or not-X' Questions.

These question types fall into three subgroupings in Mohawk: the full form and reductions of it.

Full form 'X or not-X'

(3.9) wá:re? kv kátu kv yah thá:re?
he-goes Q or Q not he-goes
Is he going or isn't he going?

Reduced form 'X or not'[2]

(3.10) wá:re? kv kátu kv yah
he-goes Q or Q not
Is he going or not?

Reduced form 'X' (yes-no question)

(3.11) wá:re? kv
he-goes Q
Is he going?

3.2.1.2 'X or X' Questions. These choice 'X or X' questions may have more than two conjuncts. They are distinct from the 'X or not-X' questions, insofar as the negation of the first disjunct by the second disjunct never occurs.

(3.12) yakú:kweh kv kátu kv rú:kweh kátu kv
woman Q or Q man or Q
Is it a woman or a man or ... ? (animal or spirit or inanimate)

'X or X' questions and 'X or not-X' questions can co-occur as a complex question construction.

(3.13) sehsahtetyúhe kv kátu kv yah, kátu kv kv́hv vséhseke?
you-'go-home' Q or Q not, or Q here you-will-stay
Are you going home or not, or will you stay here?

If X_1 symbolizes 'X or not', question (3.13) can be formalized as:

(3.14) X_1 ('X or not') or X_2.

The second, X_2, specifies the negative component of the first X_1. Thus, X_2 proves to be a negation of the 'X' in X_1, yet not on syntactic but on semantic grounds.

'X or X' questions are not always dealing with polar alternations; otherwise, questions that contain more than two conjuncts would not occur. Can non-polar 'X or X' question types still co-occur with 'X or not-X' questions in one complex construction? If so, then what is the semantic function of X_2 in respect to X_1, if the latter represents an 'X or not-X' subquestion. Such queries are of semantic nature. Answers to questions will have to be taken into consideration in order to explain the semantic aspect of such constructs, (see Chapters Five and Six). This implies that questions can be adequately treated only within a discourse framework where the use of one utterance is explained by adjacent ones. We shall come back to this problem in a later section.

3.2.2 WH Questions. All the underlined WH forms are sentence initial surface features by which WH questions can be distinguished, not only from disjunctive questions but also from declarative statements.

(3.15) to nityakó:yu
how PRT-she-is-old
How old is she?

(3.16) ka? nű:we wá:re?
which PRT-place he-goes
Where is he going?

(3.17) úhka? ní:se?
who NOM-you
Who are you?

(3.18) nahó:tv? ne yutátyats
PRT-?-is-(a)-thing NOM she-names-herself
What is her name?

(3.15) and (3.16) are adverbial WH questions, and (3.17) and (3.18) are pronominal ones.

3.2.3 Disjunctive and WH Questions. WH questions and disjunctive questions, in that order, can be conjoined into a complex question construction:

(3.19) úhka? tyakotyeráhto í:se? kv kátu kv serík
who she-is-first you Q or Q Sarah
Who was (married) first, you or Sarah?

Disjunctive question and WH questions, in that order, may also be conjoined; however, such complex construction is much less frequent than that shown above, as in (3.19). Extreme impatience on the part of the questioner is implied in this construction, as shown in (3.20).

(3.20) wá:re? kv kátu kv yah thá:re? kátu kv
he-goes Q or Q not he-goes or Q
Is he going or is he not going or

nahó:tv?
PRT-?-is-(a)-thing
what?

3.3 Identification of WH Morphemes. WH questions can be identified in Mohawk by the following interrogatives:

ka?	'which'/'where'
to	'how'
oh	'what'
úhka?	'who'
ká?tke	'when'

The WH morphemes are lexical elements that take on syntactic functions. Notions of time, manner, reason, etc., are thus questioned and requested. Some of them (see the section on ka?, to, and oh) often require qualifiers to further specify the type of information requested. We shall call these WH morpheme + qualifier constructs 'WH phrases'. For the WH morpheme/phrase , pro-forms shall be postulated, of which they are reflexes.

Notice that each qualifier following the WH morpheme is marked by a partitive prefix ni- (na?-, nu-, n-). In the pronominal phrase oh nahó:tv? 'what', na?- refers to the indefinite object or subject in question. In the adverbial phrase oh ni:yot 'how', ni- refers to the adverb in question. Syntactically, this prefix relates the qualifier, as an immediate constituent, to its preceding WH morpheme counterpart. Semantically, the partitive prefix ni- refers to the indefinite constituent in question. For example, in ka? nú:we 'where', nu- refers to the indefinite place. Syntactico-semantically, dependency to the requested constituent is marked by the partitive. We shall describe the WH morphemes in detail in the section that follows.

3.3.1 WH Morpheme ka? and Categorical Qualifiers.

Table I shows the interrogatives involving ka? 'which'. Each form is described with its variants found at Kanesatake.

	Full Form	Variant	English Translation Equivalent
Adverb space	ka? nú:we ka? nu + we which LOC PRT + ?	ka? nú ka?	which place/where
	ka? nukwá:ti ka? nu + ko + ati which LOC PRT + FN + be beside	ka? nukwá	which side/direction
time	ka? nikahá:wi ka? ni + ka + hawi which PRT + FN + carry		which time (season) (date) (hour)
Pronoun	ka? niká:yv? ka? ni + ka + yv? which PRT + FN + lie		which one

TABLE I. WH MORPHEME ka? AND CATEGORICAL QUALIFIERS.

The WH morpheme ka? is marked lexically as [-definite]. It is modified by categorical qualifiers, nouns, that specify its syntactic distribution[2] as:

(i) an adverb: WH + some + categorical qualifier; or

(ii) a pronoun: WH + that + categorical qualifier.

As an adverb, ka? locates things spatially and temporally. As a pronoun, ka? may locate the agent or the patient. We shall now illustrate each one of the above categories.

Adverb of Space

(3.21) Q. kaʔ né:ne[3] sakího
where CLFT-NOM Sakiho
Where is that Sakiho?

A. khę́:re kv rasothéha yehv́:tesu
'it-must-be' DUB grand-mother he-stays-there
It must be at grandmother's where he stays.

The qualifier nú:we 'place', may be partially deleted leaving nú:, or completely deleted, if followed by a verb. However, the qualifier nú:we is deleted if followed by a noun. In Kanesatake, speakers have been observed to use either of these following forms, signalling the same meaning:

(i) kaʔ nú:we ní:reʔs ne sakího
which place PRT-he-is NOM Sakiho
Where is Sakiho?

(ii) kaʔ nú: ní:reʔs ne sakího

(iii) kaʔ ní:reʔs ne sakího

(iv) kaʔ ne sakího

(3.22) Q. kaʔ nukwá shayáʔtareʔ[4]
which PRT-it-side he-is-in
Which side is he on?

(3.22) A. yah káneka
no 'no-where'
None, no side.

Adverb of Time

(3.23) Q. ka? nikahá:wi náhseke? ne orhó:tseri
which PRT-it-is-carrying PRT-you-eat-it NOM wax-bean
In what season do you eat wax beans?

A. akvuhá:ke
in-summer
In the summer.

Pronoun

(3.24) Q. ka? niká:yv? îhsehre?
which PRT-it-is-lying you-want-it
Which one do you want?

A. ne kî:kv
NOM this-one
This one here.

3.3.2 WH morpheme to and Categorical Qualifiers.

Table II shows the interrogatives involving to 'how'.

	Full Form	Variant	English Translation Equivalent
Amount Quantifier			
non-count amount	to ní:ku to ni + k + u how PRT + FN + be amount	to	how much [-human]
count amount	to ní:tsu to ni + tsu how PRT + 2/PL		how many [+ human] of you [+ PL]
	to nihá:ti to ni + hati how PRT + M/PL		of them [+ M]
	to nikú:ti to ni + kuti how PRT + FN/FI/PL		of them [+ FN/FI]
Spatial Quantifier			
distance	to niyó:re to ni + yo + re how PRT + FN + be far		how far
measure	to ní:wa to ni + w + a how PRT + FN + be big		how wide/big
	to ní:yvs to ni + y + vs how PRT + FN + be long		how long
weight	to niyókste to ni + yo + kst + e how PRT + FN + be heavy + epenthetic vowel		how heavy

(continued next page)

	Full Form	Variant	English Translation Equivalent
Temporal Quantifier	to náhe?[*] to na? + h + e? how PRT + ? + be long		how long
	to nikarí:we?s to ni + ka + rihw + e?s how PRT + FN + matter + be long		how long a time
Manner	to ní:yot to ni + yo + t how PRT + FN + be like	to	how/in which way

TABLE II. WH MORPHEME to AND CATEGORICAL QUALIFIERS.

to is an adverbial WH morpheme [-definite]. We might formalize it as WH + some + categorical qualifier. The qualifiers specify explicitly the amount, the space, the time, and the manner.

Amount Quantifier

non-count amount to ní:ku/to elicits things and animals, and thus contains the feature [-human].

(3.25) Q. to ní:ku wahá:yake
how PRT-it-is-amount he-eats-fruit
How many fruit did he eat?

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[*] -? is in the process of disappearing in Mohawk spoken at Kanesatake.

(3.25) A. tékeni
two
Two.

(3.26) Q. to nî:ku tsi ruwáhsere
how PRT-it-is-amount that they-pursue-him
How much do they pursue him for?

A. tékeni tewv?nyáwe
two hundred
Two hundred.

(3.27) Q. to nihuwanatukwv́:nis ne sakîho
how (much) PRT-they-charge-him NOM Sakiho
How much do they charge Sakiho?

A. wisk
five
Five.

count amount to nihá:ti/to nî:tsu/to nikú:ti refer to human beings. They contain the feature [+human].

(3.28) Q. to nihá:ti ne rotiskvrakéhte
how PRT-them NOM boys
How many of them are boys?

A. v́skak
one-only
Only one.

Spatial Quantifier

distance

(3.29) Q. to niyó:re yvsyenikwá:tho
how PRT-it-is-far you (dual)-will-go-there
How far will you go?

A. kak nú tetyatekahakwá?nv
some PRT-place we (dual)-go-road
Somewhere, we'll take a walk.

measure

(3.30) Q. to ní:wa thi waskóhu
how PRT-it-is-big that-one bridge
How big is that bridge?

A. waskowá:na
it-is-big-bridge
It is a big bridge.

weight

(3.31) Q. to nisaya?tákste
how PRT-your-body-weighs
How much do you weigh?

A. v́ska tewv?nyáwe táhnu wisk niwáhsv
one hundred and five PRT-ten
One hundred and fifty.

Temporal Quantifier

(3.32) Q.

to	náhe?	yé?seskwe?
how	PRT-?-is-long	you-stayed-there

How long did you stay there?

A.

tsi	yahyá:ksera
that	one-week

For one week.

(3.33) Q.

to	nikarí:we?s	yé?seskwe?
how	PRT-matter-is-long	you-stayed-there

For how long a time did you stay there?

A.

tsi	yahyá:ksera
that	one-week

For one week.

Manner

(3.34) Q.

to	ní:yot	ne	satyá:tawi
how	PRT-it-is-like	NOM	your-dress

How is your dress?

A.

orú:ya?	niwahsohkó:tv?	táhnu	tekanv́?tse?s
blue	PRT-it-is-(a)-kind-(of)-colour	and	it-has-long-arm

It is blue and has long sleeves

táhnu	áhsv	ní:ku	katsihkó:tu	ohv́:tu
and	three	PRT-it-is-amount	button	in-front

and three buttons in front.

(3.35) Q. to* na?á:wv

how PRT-it-happens

Let me see, what is happening?

A. (The child shows her injured hand to the questioner.)

to without overt qualifier implicitly signifies WH + some + Quantity/Manner. It is usually followed by a verb that renders the meaning of to unambiguous. The verb is marked morphologically by a partitive prefix, ni-.

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*to used as above requests from the answerer an action. Its underlying meaning is: 'Let me see where you got hurt.'

3.3.3 WH morpheme oh + Categorical Qualifier.

Table III shows the interrogatives involving oh 'what' or 'WH'.

	Full Form	Variant	English Translation Equivalent
Pronoun	oh nahó:tv? oh na? + h + o?tv + ? WH PRT + ? + be (a) + PNCT kind/ sort/ thing	nahó:tv?	what (is it)
	oh nihsatyérha oh ni + hs + at+yer+ha WH PRT + 2S + REFL + do + SER	nihsatyérha	what are you doing
noun incorporation	oh na?kanuhsó:tv? oh na? + ka+nuhs+o?tv+? WH PRT + FN + house + be (a) kind + PNCT		what kind of house is it
Adverb manner	oh nî:yot oh ni + yo + t WH PRT + FN + be like	nî:yot	in what way/how
reason	oh nutyé:rv oh n + wa?+w+at+yer+v WH PRT + AORST + FN + REFL + be (a) + PRF matter	(uh nut-yé:rv) nutyé:rv	what is the reason/ why

TABLE III. WH MORPHEME oh AND CATEGORICAL QUALIFIERS.

oh is marked [-definite, -human] and is derived semantically from WH + some + thing. Unlike *to* and *ka?*, *oh* is always followed by a qualifier; *oh* cannot occur alone. However, an *oh* question can be properly understood even if its WH morpheme is omitted.

Pronoun

(3.36) Q. nahó:tv? niyutv́tyats thi
PRT-?-is-(a)-thing PRT-she-names-herself that-one
What is the name of the one

sheyotv́:se?
you-work
you work for?

A. né kỵ páyk
NOM DUB Pike
It is ... Pike. (hesitantly)

The very commonly used question phrase *oh* *nahó:tv?* 'what'/'what kind of thing' is used in Kanesatake Mohawk exclusively in its shortened form *nahó:tv?*. This suggests to us that the lexical meaning of *oh* has been lost[6] in everyday usage, although its syntactic function as a WH marker has been retained.

The qualifier *nahó:tv?* is a partially unanalyzable construction: *na?* + *h* + *ohtv* + *?* (PRT + ? + be (a) kind + PNCT). It contains a verb root *-ohtv-* that is adjectival in nature. Incorporation is absent. When used as a question, the requested element is exactly the noun that would be incorporated if co-occurring. Noun incorporation is thus obligatory for this adjectival qualifier. We shall not go further into the very complex question of noun incorporation.[7]

(3.37) Q. oh nvhsátyere? nó:nv vséhsewe?
WH PRT-you-will-do NOM-'the time when' you-will-come-back
What will you do when you come back?

A. tvskatskáhu?
I-will-eat-it
I will have something to eat.

noun incorporation

(3.38) Q. na?kanuhsó:tv?
PRT-it-is-(a)-kind-(of)-house
What kind of house is it?

A. kanuhsaséhstsi
it-is-new-house
It is a new house.

Adverb of Manner The usage of oh, seems to be unanimously agreed upon in the two following types of constructions:

(3.39) Q. oh ní:yot ne sa?nistv́ha
WH PRT-it-is-like NOM your-mother
How is your mother?

A. skenv?kó:wa
peace-is-great
Very fine.

(3.40) Q.

oh	niyotuhâtye	ne	sa?nistv̂:ha
WH	PRT-she-'gets-along'	NOM	your-mother

How is your mother?

A.

yakota?karî:te
she-is-fine

She is fine.

Adverb of Reason

(3.41) Q.

oh	nutyê:rv	tsi	niyô:re
WH	PRT-it-is-(a)-matter	that	PRT-it-is-far

Why is it that

sahutya?tarâ:ko	nôtya?ke
they-'got-themselves-out'	some-others

so many of the others left?

A.

nekî	tsi	yahû:ka	tetyv̂?tha	wâhi	yakwatya?tarô:roke
because	that	'nobody'	they-come	TAG	we-gather-ourselves-together

oh nutyê:rv is the most frequent variant used in Kanesatake for 'why'. This question is asking for a reason in the answer. The answer is often a 'because' type of answer but not exclusively. We shall talk more about this aspect in Chapter Six that will treat the answers to questions. We might add that 'why' questions are also introduced by yah kv 'no, eh?'.

3.3.4 WH morpheme uhka?. uhka? 'who'/'whose'/'whom' is marked [-definite, +human]. We derive uhka? semantically from WH + some + one. The pro-form is marked by mutually exclusive features listed below:

$$\text{WH + some + one} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{+ agent}] \\ [\text{+ owner}] \\ [\text{+ beneficiary}] \end{array} \right\}$$

It cannot be reduced; and it never occurs with a qualifier.

[+ agent]

(3.42) Q. úhka? vyekwatá:ko
who fixes-it
Who fixes it?

A. rake?níha
father
Father.

[+ owner]

(3.43) Q. úhka? yesayv́?a tsi nihshétkv
who they-child that PRT-you-are-ugly
Whose child are you that you are so ugly?

This question is often jokingly addressed to a dog.

[+ beneficiary]

(3.44) Q. úhka? thi yahatewvnáta?ase
who that-one he-'phones-up'
Whom is he calling?

A. ratétsv?ts yahuwatewvnáta?ase
doctor they-'phone-him-up'
They call up the doctor.

3.3.5 Question word ka?tke. ka?tke 'when' is marked [-definitive]. It signifies WH + some + time. We suggest that this adverbial question word is derived from a partially unanalyzable compound ka? 'which' + unanalyzable morpheme 'time'. Mohawk speakers today intuitively conceive of it as only one morpheme. It always occurs in this unabbreviatable form in questions that ask for a temporal specification.

(3.45) Q. ká?tke íhsehre? akəna?tyá:ka?
when you-want I-should-cut-pine-tree
When do you want me to cut the pine tree?

A. yotohétstu nátye
it-has-past NOM-south
In the afternoon.

3.3.6 Interrelationship between WH Morphemes. In the preceding section, we have dealt with the question markers in groups that were morphologically determined. In this section, we shall ignore the morphological considerations, and differentiate the WH morphemes mainly in terms of their substitutability in identical contexts. The observations that follow are brief and suggestive, and arranged around English translations.

3.3.6.1 *Which.* *ka?* 'which' applies to nominals that are agentive/patient or adverbial pro-forms.

(i) *which: the agentive/patient pro-form* *ka?* 'agentive'/'patient' always has to be followed by a qualifying noun *niká:yv?* 'which one', that specifies the referent and sets it apart from the adverbials. 'Which one' alternates with the less specific pro-form 'who'. The latter is always translated by *úhka?*, unless there is a context in which choices are specified. This observation makes us conclude two things:

(a) a conversation may not be opened with *ka?* *niká:yv?* 'which one';

(b) it seems to be only used if there are alternatives or if the alternatives have been explicitly stated or specified by the linguistic and/or extralinguistic context, as in the following example.

The father looks at the bread basket; the boys have finished eating. He asks his wife:

(3.46)	Q.	ka?	niká:yv?	tsi	nihá:ti	wahatekhwísa
		which	PRT-it-is-lying	that	PRT-them	he-meal-finished
		Which one of them (boys) ate				

thí:kv	kaná:taru
that-one	bread
all the bread?	

ka? niká:yv is replaced by the personal pronoun úhka? 'who' if no alternatives are specified, and if it is a conversation-initial sentence. The following question was asked to a stranger knocking at the door:

(3.47) Q. úhka? ní:se?
who NOM-you
Who are you?

ka? niká:yv 'impersonal pronoun' is replaced by oh nahó:tv? in contexts not specified.

(3.48) Q. ka? niká:yv? tesatuhutsó:ni
which PRT-it-is-lying you-want-it
Which one do you want?

(3.49) Q. oh nikatisiketó:nv? testuhutsó:ni
WH PRT-it-is-(a)-kind-(of)-candy you-want-it
Which candy do you want?

The alternatives can be partially specified within a ka? niká:yv? as well as in an úhka? question. Additional specifications of the alternatives have been added to make an appropriate answer possible.

(3.50) Q. ka? niká:yv? tsi nikú:ti yusa?kunyv́:nis
which PRT-it-is-lying that PRT-them she-makes-food-for-you
Which one of them (females) is cooking for you?

(3.51) Q. úhka? ní:se? yusa?kunyv́:nis
who PRT-you she-makes-food-for-you
Who is cooking for you?

However, these alternatives are usually provided by the social context or else by the conversation that preceded. As a result, further specification is redundant.

(ii) *which place/where: the locative pro-form* The locative pro-form *ka?* 'which' usually occurs with a locative qualifier *ka? nú:we* which is deleted before a noun, and/or in rapid speech.

(3.52)	Q.	ka?	ne	érhar
		which (place)	NOM	dog

Where is the dog?

In less rapid speech, we can find expanded forms such as follows:

(3.53)	Q.	ka?	nú:we	ní:wa	tsi	niká:yv?
		which	PRT-place	PRT-'there-abouts'	that	PRT-it-is-lying

Where abouts are

nakáhta
NOM-my-shoe

my shoes?

(iii) *which time/when: the temporal pro-form* The temporal qualifier cannot be deleted. However, the question phrase can be substituted by *ká?tke* 'when'. This latter form is used more frequently in conversations than its equivalent *ka? nikahá:wi* 'which time'.

(3.54)

Teacher:

Q_1.	ká?tke	owá:tu	nv́hseke	norhótseri
	when	it-is-possible	NOM-you-will-eat	NOM-wax-bean

When will you be able to eat the wax beans?

(3.54)

Student:

A_1. (silence)

Teacher:

Q_2.	ka?	nikahá:wi	nv́hseke?	norhótseri
	which	PRT-it-is-carrying	NOM-you-will-eat	NOM-wax-bean

In which season will you eat the wax beans?

Student:

A_2.	akvhá:ke
	in-summer

In the summer.

Temporal question phrases are usually more specific than ka?tke questions.

(3.55)	Q.	ka?	na?ohseró:tv?	niyakonyáku
		which	PRT-winter-is-(a)-kind	PRT-she-was-married

Which year was she married?

An appropriate answer indicates the year of the marriage. In a ka?tke question, an appropriate answer could have encompassed such general answers as in (3.56) or (3.57).

(3.56)	A.	akohserá:ke
		in-winter

In the winter.

(3.57)	A.	kwá	kv?	náhe?
		quite	this	PRT-?-is-long

A long time ago.

3.3.6.2 What and Who. oh nahó:tv? 'what' is in complementary distribution with úhka? 'who'; oh nahó:tv? applies to nominals that are marked [-human], whereas úhka? applies to those marked [+human]. In (3.59) to (3.63) the agent is requested.

(3.58)
Teacher:*

Q. úhka? thi raya?tyú:ni
who that-one he-is-laying-down
Who is laying down?

(3.59) Q. úhka? ki
who this-one
Who is this?

(3.60)
Teacher:

Q. nahó:tv? kí:kv
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind this-one
What is this?

(3.61) Q. úhka? yusa?kunyv́:nis
who someone-makes-food-for-you
Who is cooking for you?

(3.62) (NOT ACCEPTABLE because oh nahó:tv? does not contain a [+human] feature.)

Q. nahó:tv? yusa?kunyv́:nis
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind someone-makes-food-for-you
What (a person) is cooking for you?

---

*Classroom questions and answers are set apart from everyday ones by always indicating the speaker (teacher/student) in the former examples; in the latter the speaker is never indicated.

(3.63)
Student:
A. raksá:?a
little-boy
A little boy.

(3.64)
Student:
A. kahi?sú:?a
several-fruit
Several fruits.

(3.65) A. érhar
dog
A dog.

(3.66) A. onú:tara?
soup
A soup.

In the above series of questions and answers, (3.58), (3.59), and (3.61) ask for an answer of type (3.63). (3.60) requests such answers as (3.64), (3.65), and (3.66). Question (3.62) is inappropriate if it demands an agent or (3.63) as an answer type. However, it is acceptable if the information request is [-human]. The question then takes on the following meaning: 'What is one cooking for you?'. Then (3.66) would become an acceptable answer. Notice, however, that it is rated as a rather impolite question; what could be worse than questioning the capacity of the cook?

oh nahó:tv? (3.60) and úhka? (3.61) request nominal constituents in their answers. Of the two, only oh as found in (3.67) and (3.68) can request a verbal constituent.

(3.67) Q. oh káti niyatyérha
WH then PRT-they-are-doing
What are they doing?

A. yahriokawí:nes
they-put-in-line
They are fishing.

oh can also be deleted. This deletion occurs very frequently in Kanesatake conversations.

(3.68) Q. (oh) na?akoyá:tawv nakewí:ra
(WH) PRT-it-happens-to-her-body NOM-my-baby
What is happening to my baby?

A. wa?akosuhsakaré:wahte
she-hurt-finger
She hurt her finger.

3.3.6.3 Why. The 'why' question in Mohawk can be introduced by oh nutyé:rv or by yáh kv.

(3.69) Q_1. oh nutyé:rv tsi yah tehoyó?te?
WH PRT-it-is-(a)-matter that not he-works
Why isn't he working?

A_1. tóka nú:wa ronuwá?tane
perhaps now he-is-sick
Perhaps he is sick.

(3.69) Q_2. yah tehoyó?te?
not he-works
He isn't working?

A_2. yah
no
No.

Q_3. yáh kv
no Q
No?

A_3. yah thakwé:ni
not he-is-able
He isn't able (to work).

A conversation can start with oh nutyé:rv but not with yáh kv. The yáh kv question, if preceded by a negative declarative statement, requests a further explanation of the negative statement. The answer that follows will always occur in the form of a negative statement. The equivalence between oh nutyé:rv and yáh kv is thus only partial. Both questions ask for an explanation. oh nutyé:rv demands an intial explanation, whereas yáh kv demands an additional one. yáh kv requests have a negative bias, but not so oh nutyé:rv requests.

3.3.6.4 How. The adverbial question that asks for the amount, number, time, distance, measure, etc. is always introduced by to.

(3.70) Q. to nihá:ti thí:kv
how PRT-them that-one
How many are there of them?

(3.71) Q. to niyó:re yasenikwá:tho
how PRT-it-is-far you (dual)-would-go-there
How far would you go?

When the adverbial question phrase contains the qualifier ní:yot 'the manner'/'the way', the preceding question word can either be to 'how', or oh 'WH'. In some contexts, they seem to be interchangeable as structural equivalents, whereas in others they are not.

oh

(3.72) Q. oh ní:yot tsi sahsahtvtyúhe
WH PRT-it-is-like that you-would-get-back
How would you get back?

A. ka?serehtá:ke
by-car
By car.

(3.73) Q. oh ní:yot tsi tsatatenúhkwe
WH PRT-it-is-like that you-two-are-related-to-one-another
How are you related to him?

A. utyara?sé:?a
we-are-cousin-to-one-another
We are cousins.

(3.74) (ACCEPTABLE BUT IMPOLITE)

Q_1. oh nî:yot tsi satkátstu
WH PRT-it-is-like that you-make-soup
How do you make the soup?

(A COMPLIMENT)

Q_2. oh **nihsyérha** tsi satkátstu
WH PRT-you-go-doing-it that you-make-soup
How do you go about cooking the soup?

A. ó:nvste táhnu atvhninuskéha asehshû:?a akwé thi
it-corn and selling-way vegetable all that-one
With corn and vegetables from the store,

vkkwatá:ko tho ne tátyeste karistá:ke vkena?tsv́hrv
I-prepare then NOM I-mix-it on-stove I-will-put-pot-on
I prepare them all by mixing them in a big pot that I put on the stove.

to

(3.75) Q. to nî:yot ne satyá:tawi
how PRT-it-is-like NOM your-dress
How is your dress (coming)?

A. ko
here
Here. (Have a look.)

The two sets of nî:yot questions (oh and to) are in complementary distribution. But how can a Native speaker select the appropriate

WH morpheme? A question that asks about relations definitely starts with oh, as in (3.73). to is definitely used in a question that involves a process. In (3.75), the addressee wants to see how the dress is made. Let us thus postulate for the time being that to nî:yot questions inquire exclusively about a process. oh nî:yot questions may also inquire about a process. However, oh nî:yot cannot replace to in all process questions; (3.75) is such an example.

(3.74) falls into this group where oh nî:yot may replace to + verb, but not to + nî:yot. Therefore, in this question, oh nî:yot can substitute for to nihsyérha 'how do you go about ...' and elicits the same type of answer. In both instances, however, the question is considered to be impolite, since it implies that the cook's capacity is doubted. In order to render this question socially acceptable, we have to replace to nî:yot by oh nihsyérha, as in (3.74 Q_2).

It is clear then that to nihsyérha, but not to nî:yot, is to be used--though as an impolite request, as in (3.74 Q_1). The reason for this is unclear at this time. We have not found any examples in Mohawk conversation where oh nî:yot can be used to replace to nî:yot. It seems that the use of to nî:yot is more narrowly defined than that of oh nî:yot. We need to have more data to confirm or to modify such rather general observations.

However, oh can simply replace to in some instances, such as in the following examples, (3.76) and (3.77). (3.77) is more insistent than (3.76). A demonstration is expected in (3.77), whereas in (3.76) only a verbal answer is requested (cf.(3.74 A)).

(3.76) Q. oh náhsyere thî:kv
WH PRT-you-do-it this-one
How do you do this?

(3.77) Q. to náhsyere thî:kv
how PRT-you-do-it this-one
How exactly do you do this?

In conclusion, we have first described surface features of Mohawk questions, concluding it with a set of morphologically determined WH categories. We then showed how some of these categories are used. The latter study is of preliminary nature. Subsequent data is necessary in order to verify and/or modify some of the above observations.

3.4 Syntax of Mohawk Disjunctive Questions.

Disjunctive questions have received much attention in syntax oriented literature, and WH questions to a much lesser degree. We shall thus make use of some of the theoretical insights on disjunttive question constructions and apply them to Mohawk data.

Disjunctive utterances are signalled in Mohawk by the particles *kátu* or *tóka*. The particle *kátu* 'or' always introduces an interrogative disjunct.

(3.78) Q. wá:re? kv kátu kv yah thá:re?
he-goes Q or Q not he-goes
Is he going or isn't he going?

The particle *tóka* 'perhaps'/'or' may introduce a declarative disjunct but never an interrogative one.

(3.79) R. tóka kv wá:re? tóka yah thá:re?
perhaps DUB he-goes perhaps not he-goes
Either he goes or he doesn't go.

If *tóka* is followed by *kv*, usually the element *kv* takes on dubitative (DUB) quality. If *kátu* is followed by *kv*, the element *kv* functions as a question particle. Langacker's assumption that question particles might derive from modals or conjunctions is thus consistent with our findings. We can further test this assumption by correlating their surface positions. There is a universal tendency for modals to occupy the sentential second position on the surface. The question particle *kv* in Mohawk further supports such observation in yes-no questions, which are special cases of disjunctive questions. When the second conjunct is deleted in Mohawk, the *kv* particle alone is retained as an 'attached' element (in second position) to the utterance-initial constituent.

3.4.1 Disjunctive Question Type 'X or not-X'.

'X or not-X' questions are signalled by two disjuncts of which one is the negation (overt syntactic category) of the other. In Mohawk conversations, we have observed the following reductions (3.80 ii-iv) of the 'X or not-X' disjunctive type (3.80 i):

(3.80) (i) (a) wáhse? kv kátu kv yah tháhse?
you-go Q or Q not you-go
Are you going or are you not going?

(3.80) (i) (b) wáhse? kátu kv yah tháhse?
you-go or Q not you-go
Are you going or are you not going?
(c) wáhse? kv kátu yah tháhse?
(d) wáhse? kátu yah tháhse?

(ii) (a) wáhse? kv kátu kv yah
(b) wáhse? kátu kv yah
(c) wáhse? kv kátu yah
(d) wáhse? kátu yah

(iii) (a) wáhse? kv kátu kv
(b) wáhse? kátu kv
(c) wáhse? kv kátu
(d) wáhse? kátu

(iv) (a) wáhse? kv
(b) wáhse?

Notice that the question particle can be deleted in the first disjunct (i-iv b), in the second disjunct (i-iii c), or in both disjuncts (i-iii d).[8]

The variants (3.80 i-iv) account for the following stylistic characteristics in everyday conversations:

(3.80 iv) shows the unmarked yes-no forms; (3.80 iii) signifies hesitation; (3.80 ii) expresses a low degree of impatience; and (3.80 i)--the full form of (3.80 iii)--a high degree of impatience and a demand for clarification.

From within a syntactically oriented viewpoint, we propose that the variants in (3.80) are the result of the application of a set of derivational rules, as stated for instance by Langacker (1970, 1974) and Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973). For further comments on this topic, see Footnote 9.

Within conversation, we have found another 'X or not-X' question variant, as in (3.81 Q_2). This is the 'or X' variant which asks for a yes-no answer. Such a construction seemingly never occurs at the beginning of conversations.

Take, for example, the following conversational context. Two ladies are watching television. Speaker 1 comments: 'Hockey should be starting soon'. While turning the dial to another station, she continues: 'They have started already'.

Speaker 2 then questions Speaker 1:

(3.81)

Speaker 2:

Q_1. ó:nv kv
now Q
Already?

Speaker 1:

A_1. hv
yes
Yes.

Speaker 2:

Q_2. kátu kv yá:yak ki sateró:ru
or Q six this-one you-watch-it
Are you watching channel six?

Speaker 1:

A_2. hv
yes
Yes.

This type of interrogative structure in (3.81 Q_2) is used to introduce a change within a conversational topic or a change of action.[10]

3.4.2 Disjunctive Question Type 'X or X'.

In two ways, 'X or X' questions are more complicated syntactically than 'X or not-X' questions:

(i) They can have more than two disjuncts. Most of the 'X or X' questions in my corpus, in fact, are limited to two disjuncts. Consequently, we shall restrict ourselves to the analyses of questions with only two disjuncts.

(ii) There is no single, overt syntactic category as in 'X or not-X' questions (the negation) that would mark the variety of semantic contrasts in 'X or X' questions.

Contrasts within the 'X or X' disjuncts might be within the category (listed from the most to the least frequent) of (i) number,[11] (ii) object, (iii) agent, and (iv) activity, and less frequently within time and location. The most frequent categories (i) to (iv) are illustrated in the following text.

Agreement within the disjunctive construction is usually found between the verbs; unless the verb (activity) is questioned, the main verb in the second disjunct must agree in all respects with that of the first one. If the main verb of the second disjunct is identical to that of the first disjunct, it may be deleted completely. Disjuncts can undergo various other reductions which we shall illustrate by ellipsis paradigms. Deletions, however, rarely occur in the first disjunct. They never affect the lexical elements carrying the contrast between the disjuncts.

A few examples will now illustrate the different questioned components within 'X or X' questions and their possible reductions.

Number

(3.82) (a) áhsv kv nihonáskwayv? ne tyunhúskwaru kátu kv
three Q PRT-he-has-animal NOM cow or Q
Does he have three cows or

kayé:ri nihonáskwayv? ne tyunhúskwaru (full form)
four PRT-he-has-animal NOM cow
does he have four cows?

(3.82) (b) áhsv kv nihonáskwayv? ne tyunhúskwaru kátu kv
three Q PRT-he-has-animal NOM cow or Q
Does he have three cows or

kayé:ri nihonáskwayv?
four PRT-he-has-animal
does he have four?

(c) áhsv kv nihonáskwayv? ne tyunhúskwaru kátu kv
three Q PRT-he-has-animal NOM cow or Q
Does he have three or

kayé:ri
four
four cows?

(d) (NOT ACCEPTABLE in Mohawk)

áhsv kv nihonáskwayv? ne tyunhúskwaru kátu kv
three Q PRT-he-has-animal NOM cow or Q
Does he have three cows or

kayé:ri ne tyunhúskwaru
four NOM cow
four cows?

Object

(3.83) (a) onú:ta? kv vsenihnekí:ra? kátu kv ohné:kanus
milk Q you-will-drink-liquid or Q water
Would you want to drink milk or

vsenihnekí:ra? (full form)
you-will-drink-liquid
would you want to drink water?

(b) onú:ta? kv vsenihnekí:ra? kátu kv ohné:kanus
milk Q you-will-drink-liquid or Q water
Would you want to drink milk or water?

(c) onú:ta? (kv) kátu (kv) ohné:kanus [12]
milk (Q) or (Q) water
Milk or water?

Agent

(3.84) (a) í:se? kv tehsatyerv́hto kátu kv terés tyakotyerv́hto
you Q you-are-first or Q Theresa she-is-first
Were you first or was Theresa first?

(b) í:se? kv tehsatyerv́hto kátu kv terés
you Q you-are-first or Q Theresa
Were you first or Theresa?

Activity

(3.85) (a) se?wá:raks (kv) kátu (kv) sate?warahní:nus (full form)
you-eat-meat (Q) or (Q) you-sell-meat
Do you eat the meat or do you sell the meat?

(3.85) (b) se?wá:raks (kv) kátu (kv) satvhnî:nus
you-eat-meat (Q) or (Q) you-sell-it
Do you eat the meat or do you sell it?

The ellipses we have shown above are governed by the three following rules.

(i) Object NP Deletion This rule deletes, in the second disjunct only, the object noun phrase, (3.85). In the full form, the object noun is incorporated. Deletion applies to noun phrases that are incorporated or not, as can be seen in (3.85 a, b). The second noun acts as a qualifying noun to the first incorporated noun.

(ii) Identical Verb Deletion This rule applies within the second disjunct, after the Object Noun Deletion as illustrated in (3.82 c). However, if the object noun phrase is contrasted, the Object NP Deletion rule does not apply, (3.83). In certain situations, yet never at the opening of a conversation, the identical verb is deleted in both disjuncts, (3.83 c). Notice that the agent, a pronominal enclitic, is deleted along with the verb.

We have to specify that deletion rules are closely linked with focus, a discourse operator (cf. Chapter Four). If the agent is the theme of the utterance, and, therefore, under focus, it occurs as a free form which we shall call the agent noun phrase.to set it apart from its bound counterpart, the agent enclitic. After Identical Verb Deletion rule within the second disjunct has been applied, the agent noun phrase alone remains as theme of the utterance (3.84 b).

These examples are descriptive of most of the 'X or X' questions in my corpus. They illustrate that first of all the categories in contrast are identical within their syntactic scope. For example, in (3.83), the contrasted category in X_1 and X_2 is that of the object noun phrase. It is to be noticed, however, that the lexical items filling the object noun phrase position share the semantic feature [+liquid]. It thus appears that in addition to the identity of syntactic category, identity of semantic function is a prerequisite for the more common, acceptable 'X or X' disjunctive questions.[13]

In this section, we have been dealing with interrogative surface features of WH questions[14] at the morphological level, and with disjunctive questions at the syntactic level. Syntactico-semantic aspects of WH and disjunctive questions shall be treated within a discourse framework in the next section.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. This subgroup can further be reduced to 'X or' in Mohawk. Some examples will be cited later on in this thesis.

2. In either case, *ka?* 'which' always occurs with the qualifier *niká:yv?* 'one'.

3. *né:ne* is a contracted form of *né:?e* *ne* 'CLFT NOM', cleft 'marker' and nominal particle.

4. In Kanesatake, the variant form *ka?* *nukwá* 'which side' has replaced the full form *ka?* *nukwá:ti* in everyday conversations.

5. I have found *oh* *nahó:tv?* used in the past. It is not clear to us which aspect(s) the suffix *-ses* represents. Perhaps it is a free morpheme.

Full Form	Variant	English Translation Equivalent
oh nahó:tv?ses	nahó:tv?ses	what (was it)
oh na? + h + o?tv + ? + ses		
WH PRT + ? + be (a) kind/ sort/ thing + PNCT + past		

Example:

Q.	nahó:tv?ses	ná?a	thì	kanyv́:te?s
	PRT-?-was-(a)-thing	maybe	that-one	she-comes-for-purpose

What did she come here for?

A.	ukwehú:we	knahó:tv?k *	kvná:?a
	Indian	some-PRT-?-is-(a)-thing	TAG

It has something to do with Indians, doesn't it?

-? is in the process of disappearing in Kanesatake Mohawk.
* (contracted form of *ok* *nahó:tv?* *ki* 'some PRT-it-is-(a)-thing this-one')

6. In the texts of Hewitt, *oh* still carries lexical meaning (p. 258, # 13, 14):

Q. oh ne nahó:tv? ne tsi
what NOM PRT-?-is-(a)-thing NOM where
What thing is that,

nahó:tv? sá:tu?
PRT-?-is-(a)-thing thou-art-saying
the thing that thou sayest?

7. For a highly developed study on this subject, see the excellent thesis of Hanni Woodbury on *Noun Incorporation in Onondaga*.

8. It seems that deletion of *kv* 'question particle' is subject to social constraints. For instance, older speakers in Kanesatake who use more Mohawk than English omitted *kv* much more frequently than young speakers who use more English than Mohawk.

9. Langacker has sketched derivational rules for English yes-no questions as follows (1974, p. 22):

(i) WH + OR [[he can swim] [not* [he can swim]]] ==>
Conjunction Distribution
(ii) [WH + OR [he can swim]] [WH + OR [not [he can swim]]] ==>
Conjunct Deletion: a
(iii) [WH + OR [he can swim]] [WH + OR [not [he can]]] ==>
Conjunct Deletion: b
(iv) [WH + OR [he can swim]] [WH + OR [not]] ==>
WH + OR NOT Deletion
(v) [WH + OR [he can swim]] ==> Subject Auxiliary Inversion
(vi) [WH + OR [can he swim]] ==> WH + OR (Whether) Deletion
(vii) Can he swim?

* The negative formation is not further discussed in this paper as it is irrelevant to the topic. Notice, however, that the negation, as a sentential adverbial, occurs in the form of yah/yahtv 'no'/'definitely no'. If attached to the verb, yah 'not' co-occurs with an obligatory enclitic: te-/th- 'negation', prefixed to the verb.

Notice that we have omitted the governing performative clause which Langacker has proposed as an alternative to Q. We shall elaborate in more detail in Chapter Four upon a semantic approach to questions that includes the performative reading.

In Mohawk, for a yes-no question, derivations as illustrated below apply. Between Conjunction Distribution and Conjunct Deletion, there is an obligatory KATU Lowering rule (Lang, 1970), yielding (iii). With the application of this rule KATU is brought into the lowest S of each conjunct, and the question particle kv is introduced into second position. There is no Subject Auxiliary Inversion as in the above. WH + OR Deletion is only partially applicable in Mohawk: KÁTU is deleted, but kv is retained and moved into second position.

We suggest that a derivational sketch for wáhse? kv 'Are you going?' (3.80 iv), would be represented as follows:

(i) KÁTU [[wáhse?] [yah thâhse?]] ==> Conjunction Distribution

(ii) [KÁTU [wâhse?]] [KÁTU [yah thâhse?]] ==> KATU Lowering

(iii) [KÁTU kv wáhse?] [KÁTU kv YAH thâhse?] ==> Conjunct Deletion

(iv) [KÁTU kv wáhse?] [KÁTU kv YAH] ==> KATU YAH Deletion

(v) [KÁTU kv wáhse?] ==> Initial KATU Deletion (kv switching)

(vi) wáhse? kv

kátu 'or' always implies interrogation. We are omitting the WH morpheme as an inherent quality of KÁTU. The meaning of KÁTU thus includes the question feature as well as the meaning of alternation 'or'.

10. There is always the possibility that (3.81) is interpreted as the second conjunct within an 'X or X' question type. If so, we would be faced with the problem of backward versus forward deletions.

11. Number is a subcategory within the category of qualifiers. We shall analyze these separately because numbers in Mohawk generally occur as free forms, whereas the qualifying adjectives usually occur as bound forms. Both can, however, occur as bound or free morphemes.

12. Within a certain context, for instance, when the host asks for a second time, this short form is acceptable.

13. There have been a few examples, however, that have not followed these above patterns. One example shall illustrate the fact that 'X or X' question types are much more complex in their contrast than we suggested in the above section. They are difficult to explain on syntactic and semantic grounds. We shall not comment any further on the example, since our focus in this paper is on frequent rather than on rare patterns.

Q.	yah	kv	ní:se?	tho	niyó:re	tsi	akí:ru
	no	Q	NOM-you	there	PRT-it-be-far	that	I-would-say

I would say that you don't

tyotká:te	tyorhv́:sha	áhsatste	tho	nukwá	tsi
it-is-often	in-English	you-use	there	PRT-that-side	that

often use English that far over there,

yah	kwa	kwi	ne	tehútsta	kátu	ne	ni
not	quite	precisely	NOM	they-use-it	or	NOM	also

do you, (because) they don't use it very much;

né?e	rútstha?	ne	sewateroshú?a
too	they-use-it	NOM	your-friends

or your friends, do they use it too?

A.	hv,	teyvkwayestuhátyeki
	yes,	we-mix-it

Yes, we mix it (the languages).

14. According to Langacker (1974), for example, WH questions are subject to the following set of derivations:

(i) WH feature complexes on noun-phrase determiners; and

(ii) WH-movement (fronting), attraction of question words to the governing verb.

We believe, however, that these two derivational processes are closely linked to processes within the discourse. WH feature complexes are associated only with constituents that are under focus. We claim that focus is a discourse operator. We shall thus deal with WH questions in an enlarged framework--that of the discourse.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCOURSE FRAME

4.1 Introduction. In the previous chapters, the questions have been treated mostly as isolated entities that contain morphological and syntactic characteristics particular to interrogative sentence types. We have identified morphological patterns within questions and syntactic patterns of disjunctive questions. However, the intrinsic nature of questions is to request answers. Answers thus are intimately linked to questions. Questions are not isolated, single units. As 'contextualized' units, they are an integrated part of a sequential organization at the discourse level. As already stated in this paper, we are limiting the scope of our research within the discourse to question and answer sequences only. This implies that aspects not pertinent to this topic shall be briefly mentioned, if not omitted.

We shall endeavour to sketch a theoretical framework that circumscribes utterances within the discourse. Formal features of questions will henceforward be paired with semantic and contextual ones at the discourse level. This discourse level shall be referred to from within a theoretical frame that accounts for several layers of abstractions marked as speech act conditions (performative and deixes), presuppositions, and focus.

4.2 Speech Act Conditions.

4.2.1 The Performative (Hypersentence).

A first step toward discourse analysis has been made by Katz & Postal (1964) who suggested a semantic interpretation of the base marker Q: 'I ask'. Meaning is now to be taken into consideration as well as the performance of a speech act.

Performative analysis (as first advocated by Austin (1962)), has been restated and defined by Ross (1970), Fraser (1971), Schreiber (1972), and Sadock (1969, 1974), to name only a few. The theory asserts that each utterance possesses an illocutionary force as part of its intrinsic meaning. In pronouncing a question, a speaker refers to himself (as the subject) and the addressee (as the indirect object). The illocutionary force of inquiring, in this case, is indicated by its combined non-performative surface signals such as the question particle and intonation, for example. Within the semantic representation, this illocutionary force is abstracted by the highest clause--called the performative clause. Under certain circumstances, this clause is deleted at some stage of the derivation. If not, the performative clause is encoded in the surface structure. In either case, upon uttering a sentence with a performative that is explicit (4.1), or only implicit (4.2), the same claim is made. A speaker is actually carrying out the speech act designated by the performative and not merely describing it.

(4.1) I ask you whether you are going to leave or not.

(4.2) Are you going to leave or not?

Though the performative analysis is a controversial issue, I intuitively believe that this aspect of meaning thus represented is a very crucial one, since it is inherently linked to the performance of a speech act. Does a semantic representation, perceived in the form of a speech act, pertain to language structure alone, or also to language usage? Perhaps a simple compartmentalization of meaning is just not possible. Questions cannot be considered in isolation from their intended structural meaning and use (contextual meaning).

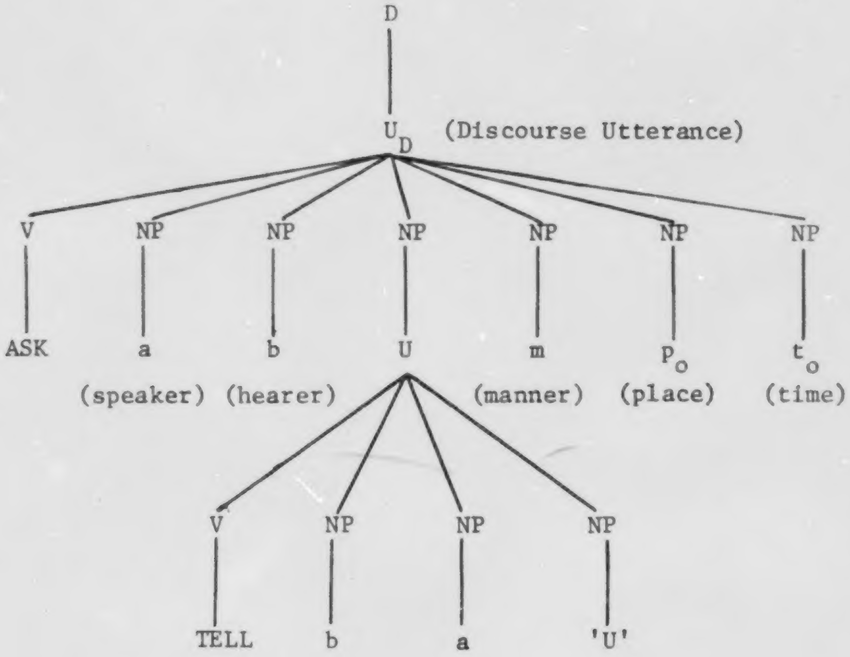
Henceforth, it is assumed in this paper that every utterance under analysis contains a performative reading. We thus postulate that the Q marker for questions in the semantic representation be replaced by a discourse stratum analogous to that of the performative clause. This stratum resembles the complex, higher, abstract structure proposed by Gordon & Lakoff (1971) and reads as follows: 'I request you to tell me'. We prefer this complex predication hypersentence to the simple one 'I ask you'. The former is more descriptive of conversational postulates than the latter. However, 'ask' shall be used in the place of 'request'.[1] We shall see, at a later point, that the performative verb 'ask' is not general enough. 'request' will be reintroduced for a few questions. The verb 'tell' also will have to be rediscussed later in the text, since it does not cover all the varieties of assertions asked for.

4.2.2 Discourse Deixes. There is another category that is inherently linked to the performance of a speech act, the category of deixes (Langacker, 1975). The notion of deixis has been elaborated prior to Langacker (1975) by such linguists as McCawley (1971a), and Fillmore (1966, 1973). Our observations concerning the link between deixes and the speech act entirely agree with those of Langacker. However, we disagree with him, in respect to the nature of the act itself. Langacker includes only a specific set of deixes, e.g. demonstratives, that he describes as pointing at things. This act is very specific. The speech act as conceived by us is to be more general, in order to include all the deixes that refer to the discourse. We thus postulate that the speech act of inquiring is linked to the act of pointing at time, place, participants, and manner.

Deixes as defined in this paper are intimately tied to the act of pointing at (i) the speaker, (ii) the hearer, (iii) the time, (iv) the place, and (v) the manner of speaking. We might further specify that (i) and (ii) refer to the participants in the speech act; (iii) refers to the time during which the act was performed, e.g. today; (iv) refers to the location of the communicative act, e.g. there, here; and (v) refers to the manner (polite/casual) in which communication was performed. Hence, we assume that each utterance is superordinated by an abstract frame of discourse. This frame consists of several layers of discourse utterances of which the highest is that of the performative hypersentence, and the elements of deixis: speaker NP (subject), hearer NP (object), place, time, manner NP (as adverbials) and direct object NP that dominates 'U', the utterance under analysis. The deixes of speaker, hearer, place, time, and manner will be symbolized respectively by a, b, p, t, and m.

For the sake of simplicity, we shall formally represent the performative (short form used subsequently for performative hypersentence) and the deictic elements as coordinate elements, rather than subordinate ones, within the discourse frame. Throughout the study, this frame shall be given in the form of (4.3), a near surface representation. We intend thus to ease its exposition and illustration.

(4.3)


D
U_D (Discourse Utterance)
V
NP
NP
NP
NP
NP
NP
ASK
a
(speaker)
b
(hearer)
U
m
(manner)
p_o
(place)
t_o
(time)
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL
b
a
'U'

(4.3) may be paraphrased as: 'speaker$_1$ requests from hearer$_2$, in a (polite/casual) manner m, in the place p_o, at the time t_o, that hearer b should tell speaker a 'U''. A normal question thus reads: 'I ask in a (polite/casual) manner, in the place p_o, at the time t_o, that you tell me 'U''.

We shall not further elaborate the deictic elements in this section, since further reference to participants and setting (time and place) shall be made specifically in the chapter devoted to sociolinguistic analysis (Chapter Seven). The deixis of manner will be commented on briefly since there is no further reference made to this aspect of the discourse.

There is an appropriate manner of talking in Mohawk situations, where, between participants, respect and therefore politeness are demanded. Some of the recorded questions and/or their answers have been rated as polite ones. Such constructions usually were marked by structural particularities.

For instance, the whimperative question (5.58) is introduced by a modal word can. Polite requests for action are often thus introduced. Also, polite questions or answers are often signalled by a modal prefix; see (4.4).

(4.4)	Q.	akî:ru	kv	ne	yakorihunyá:ni	kv	kî
		I-could-say-it	Q	NOM	she-is-teacher	TAG	this-one

Could I say that she is a teacher, eh?

There is another way of expressing politeness in questioning as in (4.5), or in answering as in (4.6).

(4.5)	Q.	thó	ne	kv	ná:?a	thî:kv	wisk	yawv́:re	ṅikahwîstake
		then	NOM	Q	maybe	that-one	five	ten	PRT-'dollar'

Wasn't it then fifteen dollars that

wahaná:to ,	wisk	yawv́:re	wasako?tyerú?kwa
he-charged-it,	five	ten	he-would-take-them

he charged--fifteen to take them there?

A.	wisk	yawv́:re	sakîho	táhnu	yakwateno?schokú:?a	thî:kv
	five	ten	Sakiho	and	our-other-siblings	that-one

Fifteen (dollars) for Sakiho and our other siblings.

(4.6)	Q.	to	nî:ku	tsi	ruwáhsere
		how	PRT-it-is-amount	that	they-pursue-him

How much are they pursuing him for? (after an accident)

(4.6) A.

kátu	tóka	úhte	kak	nú	tsá:ta	tewv?nyáwe
or	perhaps	'I-think'	some	PRT-place	seven	one-hundred

Or perhaps I think somewhere around seven hundred;

nikanó:ru	thî	ne	ayenewa?á?tya?ke
PRT-it-is-priced	that-one	NOM	someone-would-break-pole

that is the price if someone would break a pole.

A series of particles, some of them parenthetical verbs, precede the questioned constituent. The hearer is thereby very politely prepared for a subsequent question or answer.

Also, there is another form of politeness today, signalled by the choice of the aparticular feminine pronoun. In Mohawk, there are two ways of referring to a third person female:

(i)	akáuha	'she'	FI	(feminine/indefinite)[2]
(ii)	áuha	'she'	FN	(feminine/neuter)

The former is used when talking about family members and persons considered to be respectable. Female persons outside the family--teachers and bosses, for example--are referred to most likely by the latter form. Within the family, female members, under certain negative circumstances, might also be called by the feminine neuter.

One of my consultants has thus categorized certain persons as being more or less polite, in regard to which form they use during conversations. One family especially was considered to be polite because of their frequent use of the indefinite feminine form. In the past, however, women that were of child-bearing age were referred to by the FN, and children and older women by the FI pronoun. Today, this pattern is in the process of disappearing. This change evidently reflects a new ideology and new social practices. It reflects the influence that social forces have on linguistic development.

4.3 Presuppositions and Speech Act. The relation of discourse rules to utterances shows several layers of abstraction. Consider, for example, the following dialogue translation equivalent (cf. (6.35)) of a Mohawk conversation:

(4.7)

Speaker$_1$	Q.	What indeed shall we say?
Speaker$_2$	A.	Yes.
Speaker$_1$	R.	Hm. (Yes.)

To correctly interpret the above dialogue (which is acceptable in Mohawk), we have to expand discourse rules beyond those of speech acts and deixes to those of preconditions. We thus imply that uttered questions and answers exhibit at least two layers of associated conditions:

(i) the semantic aspect of a speech act, discussed previously in 4.2;
(ii) preconditions on the appropriate use of a speech act.

In this section, we shall confine ourselves to the latter condition, which shall be referred to as discourse presuppositions.[3] The term 'discourse presupposition' is used in the sense of Fillmore (1971, p.380): 'those conditions which must be satisfied before the sentence can be used' for 'asking questions', for example. The condition to which we adhere in this section is that of knowledge shared by both speaker and addressee.

Take for example, the question in (4.8).

(4.8) Q. Could you close the door?

We are interested in the discourse presupposition that the speaker shares together with the answerer: the knowledge that question (4.8) does not carry the illocutionary force of asking but of commanding.

Let us now illustrate the discourse presupposition as delineated above by (4.7), a typical Mohawk question-answer sequence. The question can be used appropriately if both speaker and addressee share the same knowledge: a WH question requests new information about the identity of one argument of the proposition. The conveying of new information about the argument necessarily implies that the answerer asserts its propositional truth value. In Mohawk, an answer to a WH question is acceptable if the identity of the argument under question is conveyed, or if its propositional content implied is alone conveyed as an assertion, as in (4.7).

The notion of 'discourse presupposition' as used above, is of pragmatic nature. We shall specify and refine the definition in the sense of Givón (1974, pp. 22-24).[4] We propose that every act of questioning by the concerned speaker and hearer presupposes:

(i) knowledge shared by speaker and addressee;

(ii) certain unshared elements between hearer and speaker:

- (a) knowledge: speaker lacks certain knowledge--hearer possesses this particular knowledge,
- (b) power: speaker is incapable of obtaining the knowledge--hearer is capable of conveying the knowledge,
- (c) motivation: speaker wishes to obtain the missing knowledge--hearer is disposed to transmit it;

(iii) that the speaker (and possibly the hearer) consider(s) the speech act appropriate within the relative social situation.[5]

These three items can be illustrated informally as follows.

4.3.1 Presuppositions: Shared Knowledge. In English, if someone asks:

(4.9) 'how far are you going on your walk?',

an acceptable, 'polite' answer would be:

(4.10) 'To the woods and back'.

But if someone should ask in Mohawk:

(4.11) to niyó:re yvsyenikwá:tho[6]
how PRT-it-is-far you (dual)-will-go-there
'How far will you go?',

an acceptable answer could be--and was:

(4.12) oh, kak nú tetyatekahakwá?nv
oh, some PRT-place we (dual)-go-road
Oh, somewhere we'll take a walk.

There is, firstly, a type of shared knowledge contained in (4.11) that specifically refers to the universe shared by both speaker and addressee:

(4.13) The hearer is going to go some place.

Then, there is shared knowledge contained in (4.11) that 'someone's going somewhere' can be specified in terms of distance: the question (4.11) seems to ask for a specific distance; however, in performance, the Mohawk hearer apparently ignores the specific demand and the identity of the argument under question, and answers with an assertion, the repetition of the underlying indefinite locative within the question. Since the hearer does not even know how far he will go nor where he will go, he reinterprets the question as a 'where' question as in (4.14) that can be answered with an indefinite, assertive response as in (4.12).

(4.14) ka? nú yvsyenikwá:tho
which PRT-place you-will-go-there
Where will you go?

Strangely enough, this is still a 'polite' acceptable answer in Mohawk. Distance is closely linked to place--actually the former seems to be a subcategory of the latter. Further, both speaker and hearer share a knowledge that every Mohawk speaker knows: a question that grammatically asks for a definite distance presupposes in the answer under question either a definite distance that implies assertion of the proposition under question, or the assertion only of an indefinite locative/distance. The choice is left up to the discretion of the addressee. The indefinite answer (4.12) signals the transmission of information--even if incomplete--at hand. In other circumstances, it might signal the incapacity to convey the information either for social or personal reasons or for both.

4.3.2 Elements Unshared by Speaker and Addressee.

(i) Knowledge: In uttering (4.11), for instance, the speaker knows that the proposition of the uttered question: 'You are going for a walk' is true within the particular discourse context. The question phrase 'how far' indicates, however, that the speaker lacks the knowledge of the identity of one of the arguments. In (4.11), it is the distance that is unknown. He assumes that the hearer knows the missing information.

(ii) Power: The speaker presupposes that the hearer is capable of conveying the information, since he himself is incapable of acquiring it by himself at this particular moment, within this particular situation.

(iii) Motivation: The speaker presupposes that the hearer is disposed to transmit the information in accordance with the speaker's wishes.

4.3.3 Relative Social Context.

When (4.11) is uttered, the speaker presupposes--though perhaps weakly--that in the particular social context, it has been appropriate for him to assume the authority of requesting information. He also assumes that possibly the hearer shares with the speaker such an assumption about the social context.

4.4 Discourse Presuppositions.

We use the term discourse presuppositions, as previously stated, in a pragmatic sense. We agree with Muraki (1974) that these presuppositions are presupposed 'by the discourse, that is by both the speaker and the addressee based on what has been said or implied in the preceding part of the discourse' (p. 21). We shall expand the definition hereafter by including presuppositions discussed above that concern the speaker alone.

The discourse is structured from within Muraki's presuppositional viewpoint. Question (4.14) shall be used as an illustration and is represented in (4.15):

(4.15) PRSP [Δ PLACE GO b] [DEFINITE +/INDEFINITE PLACE GO b]

It is presupposed (PRSP) by a (speaker) and b (addressee) that b is going to some place. a asserts that it is a definite +/indefinite place where b is going. PRSP is used above as a primitive two-place predicate in semantic representation relating two utterances [PRSP U_1 and U_2]: U_1 is presupposed by a and b, while U_2 is asserted by a. U_1 is thus presupposed for U_2. U_1 is called the 'discourse presupposition'; U_2 is called the 'assertion'. The constituents in U_2 identical with those in U_1 are at a later stage deleted. Δ represents a dummy element that becomes a non-dummy element within the assertion. This element will be called 'focus'. The notion of focus is thus conceived as a discourse operator. (4.12) is not marked with respect to its illocutionary force of inquiring. We shall modify (4.15) by incorporating a performative as the topmost utterance within the assertion (4.16). This predicate does not appear on the surface.

(4.16) PRSP [Δ PLACE GO b] [ASK a b [TELL b a
[DEFINITE +/INDEFINITE PLACE GO b]]]

a and b presuppose that b is going to some place. a asks b to tell a the definite +/indefinite[8] place that b is going to.

In order to further specify the presuppositional content of the speech act of inquiry with respect to the speaker alone, we shall revise (4.16) as follows in (4.17):

(4.17) PRSP [PRCD [U_1]] [PRFR [U_2]]

Preconditions (PRCD) are an embedded subset of discourse presuppositions such as knowledge, power, and motivation, which a assumes that b possesses in order to convey the missing information, the definite +/indefinite place.[9]

4.5 Presupposition and Focus. Presuppositions play an important part within the flow of conversations. As seen above, their recurrence in successive sentences guarantees partially, at least, the effectiveness of verbal interaction. Within conversation, often the presupposed material is deleted and that which remains is the constituent under focus.

We claim that the focus originates in the structure of the discourse, particularly in relation to what has preceded. The speaker marks one or several elements of the utterance as informationally focal. Focus does mostly, though not always, correspond to assertion or new information. It correlates, for example, to the speaker's attitude as to the truth value of the proposition, his positive or negative assertions, or to missing information in the WH question.

Focus assignment is closely linked to cleft and stress assignment: clefting or emphatic stress assignment apply only to constituents that are marked by the focus within the discourse. In the answer (4.19) to question (4.18), an emphatic stress on the surface marks the answer as unambiguous.

(4.18) Q. nahó:tv? érhar wa?oká:ri
PRT-?-is-(a)-thing dog it-bit-it
What did the dog bite?

(4.19) A. takó:s, érhar wa?oká:ri
cat , dog it-bit-it
The dog bit a cat.

In the semantic representation, the object was first marked by [+ FOCUS], (cf. Muraki).[10] It then received the emphatic stress and subsequently was moved to the front of the utterance. An interval between object and subject further reinforces phonetically the stress assignment on the surface. This example does not represent all the possible variants. It confirms, however, Muraki's hypothesis that focus and stress assignment are closely linked together and, therefore, are an inherent part within a presuppositionally sensitive discourse grammar.

In what follows, we shall illustrate the interaction between (i) focus and assertion, (ii) focus and clefting in respect to questions in Mohawk, and (iii) focus and information reduction.

4.5.1 Focus and Assertion.

The WH morphemes are the constituents--within the assertion--that bear focus; the rest is presupposed by the speaker. We might thus identify WH (in the sense of Katz & Postal (1964)) as indefinite 'SOME' that received discourse focus as shown in (4.20):

(4.20) SOME X ==> WH X
[FOCUS]

(X is a pro-form of NP subclasses)

In Mohawk, when indefinite pronouns such as úhkak 'someone' receive focus, they undergo morphophonemic changes---k ==> $\left\{\begin{matrix}-?\\-h\\-\emptyset\end{matrix}\right\}$ as in úhkak 'someone'

==> úhka? 'who'--rather than morphological changes as in the English: 'someone' ==> 'who'. This holds true for all the following WH morphemes:

(4.21) (a) kak ==> ka?, as in kak nú:we ==> ka? nú:we
'some place' 'which place'
(b) tok ==> to, as in tok nî:ku ==> to nî:ku
'some amount' 'what amount'
(how much)
(c) ok ==> oh, as in ok nahó:tv? ==> oh nahó:tv?
'some thing'/ 'what thing'/
'some kind' 'what kind'
(d) úhkak ==> úhka?, as in úhkak ==> úhka?
'some one' 'who'
(e) ká?tkek ==> ká?tke, as in ká?tkek ==> ká?tke
'some time' 'which time'

4.5.2 Focus and Clefting.[11] There are several analyses proposed on cleft sentences in English and other languages, including those of Akmajian (1970), Ross (1972), and Muraki (1974). We propose that the process of clefting is closely linked to focus.[12]

(4.22) Q_1. yo?tká:te? kv né:?e tesenithárha? ukwehu:wehnéha
it-is-often Q CLFT you-talk-together genuine-people's-way
Is it often that you talk together in Indian?

A_1. yah teyo?tká:te? ne:? tehútstha? kowanéha
not it-is-often CLFT they-use-it genuine-people's-way
(No), it is not often that they use Indian

nukwanúhsku
PRT-in-our-house
in our house.

(4.22) Q_2. hv (rising intonation)
yes
Yes, really?

A_2. neyo?tká:te ne tyorhv́:sha né:ne o?seruni?kéha
PRT-it-is-often NOM in-English CLFT-NOM in-French
It is often (that they use) English and French.

In cleft question (4.22), the focal constituent precedes the particle né:?e, which is one of the possible elements that has a function in clefting. The presupposed constituent follows the element under focus as a subordinate structure. In opting for Muraki's formalization, the declarative counterpart of (4.22 Q_1)--leaving out the object--will be generalized as follows in (4.23):

(4.23) PRSP [Δ TALK TOGETHER YOU] [[OFTEN + FOCUS] TALK TOGETHER YOU]

Clefting may only apply there where a constituent contains [+ FOCUS]. In Mohawk, it seems that verbs and negations, for example, may be focussed and consequently clefted, as in (4.24).

(4.24) yáh kv né:?e tehota?nyotanúhne
not Q CLFT he-went-(to-a)-feast
He did not go to the wedding?

This example is supportive of the hypothesis that negation is a higher predicate. If the preceding assumption is true, we might then presume that clefted utterances are only derived optionally from unclefted ones. Apparently, not every clefted utterance has an unclefted version. The non-dummy element of the assertion which corresponds to the dummy in the presupposition is the element under focus.

Later in the derivation, the focus-bearing element is raised to the next higher predicate position and the remaining structure is changed into a subordinate clause structure, (see footnote 13). On the surface, the focussed element might be indicated, for instance, by né:?e, or as in example (4.19), by the emphatic stress.

Clefting in (4.22 Q_1) does not contribute any information to the scope of focus. The questioned constituent is already under focus (kv functions here as a focus marker). It signifies that in a question-answer situation, the speaker presupposes the hearer's knowledge of the answer and his capacity to convey it. A 'no' as a reply would imply, therefore, that information is withheld. Thus, a 'no' has to be further specified, as in (4.22 A_2).[14]

4.5.3 Focus and Information Reduction. If (4.23) is uttered as an answer to (4.22 Q_1) on the surface, the focussed constituent yo?tká:te 'it-is-often' alone might be retained; all the other constituents, thus presupposed, can be deleted. Deletion is one of the manifestations within the economy of the discourse. Once old and new information have been stated within a dialogue, deletion of non-focussed constituents can take place. The reduction process can be of syntactic or phonological nature such as pronominalization, stress reduction, equi-NP-deletion, etc. Information Reduction is universal, whereas the form of the reduction process has language-specific constraints. In Mohawk, pronominalization prevails over deletion, even more so than in English. We ascribe this fact to the nature of the Mohawk verb which cannot occur without its pronominal referents. Further, the pronouns are more elaborated in Mohawk than in English: 1st person singular; 1st person dual inclusive/exclusive; 1st person plural inclusive/exclusive; 2nd person singular/dual/plural; 3rd person singular masculine/feminine neuter/ feminine indefinite; and 3rd person dual/plural feminine and/or non-feminine. It thus follows that pronominalization within the Mohawk discourse is less apt to be ambiguous than in English, e.g. (4.25):

(4.25) S. Last week, John and Fred visited their family.

Q. Did they have fun together?

In English, it is not clear whether the question concerns the family plus John and Fred, or simply just John and Fred. In Mohawk, this is clear from the type of pronoun used: they (dual), for example, refers unambiguously to John and Fred.

Pronominalization is indeed so extensively used in discourse that non-native speakers often have difficulties interpreting correctly the referents in conversations or texts in Mohawk. The Mohawk speaker, however, is not aware of such problems. He appropriately identifies the pronominal referents used by another speaker and, in turn, successfully carries on the process of pronominalization when speaking. Nevertheless, this process is only possible once the discourse referents are established between speaker and addressee in the beginning of the discourse.

The general process of reduction can be stated informally approximately as follows:

(4.26)

$$\begin{array}{lccccccccc} & [\,_{D}X & - [\,_{U}X & - A & - X\,] & - & [\,_{U}X & - A & - X\,] & - X\,] \\ & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\ \text{==>} & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & & 5 & \begin{Bmatrix}\text{PRO}\\ \emptyset\end{Bmatrix} & 7 & 8 \end{array}$$

Condition: 3 - 6, A is a variable over U, NP, V.

The formulation places the reduction into the non-initial conjunct under identity of elements in two juxtaposed utterances. This reduction process (4.26) occurs in the frame of the discourse and not in the frame of the sentence alone.

Yet pronominalization is not the only reduction process. In question-answer pairs, deletion seems to prevail over pronominalization. This is a language-universal phenomenon. In Mohawk question-answer pairs, we have noticed, however, that deletion does not always occur, and this for stylistic reasons, e.g. (4.27).

(4.27)

Speaker$_1$

Q. yakota?karí:te (kv)
she-'is-fine' (Q)
Is she fine?

Speaker$_2$

A. hv , yakota?karí:te
yes, she-is-fine
Yes, she is fine.

Speaker$_1$

R. hv , yakota?karí:te
yes, she-is-fine
Yes, she is fine.

In (4.27), a yes-no answer is requested. The proposition is repeated by the answerer and, in return, by the questioner also. This creates a certain conversational rhythm which is typical of speech acts in semi-formal visitations. In a rapid conversation, around the table for instance, minimal answers and also minimal questions are preferred:

(4.28) The telephone rings. Mother answers. John then asks his mother:

Q. úhka? thi
who this-one
Who was it?

A. tsohké:ri
Tsohkeri
(It was) Tsohkeri.

For further examples of possible deletions, see Chapter Three.

In summary, the following semantic elements that compose a discourse-oriented grammar have been outlined in this section. We have indicated a way of dealing with question-answer formation as inherently tied to the performance of a speech act and to discourse deixes. Speech act preconditions were then treated in the form of presuppositions which we claim to be basic in the syntactic shaping of questions and answers. Finally, focus as a discourse operator was related to emphatic stress, assertion, clefting, and information reduction.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. We are opting fo this performative hypersentence 'I ask you to tell me' for cultural reasons. When a question is asked, a Mohawk speaker expects an answer. However, the force of a question is usually not that of a demand or request. Asking signifies leaving broad options for the answerer, as discussed in Chapter Six. Even the choice of who is to be the answerer is not very direct; people usually are not named when approached with a question.

2. Morphologically, these pronouns can occur as variable enclitics with nouns and verbs. The FI is used for persons whose gender is unknown, or thought of as irrelevant; for indefinite persons referred to in English by 'one', and for female human beings. The FN is used for all inanimate objects, female animals, animals of unspecified sex, and female human beings.

3. Questions and answers have been treated for some time in the literature as presuppositional. For representative illustrations, see Schachter (1973), and Muraki (1974).

4. The discourse presuppositions in this section correspond to presuppositions that are inherently tied to the speech act (see Givón, 1974): Gordon & Lakoff's conversational postulates, in particular 'the convention governing the felicity of usage' of speech acts, are considered, in this paper, 'as a subset of discourse presuppositions' (p. 15).

5. The interaction between the intention and context is much more complex. If, for example, the social hierarchy represented by the participants is taken into consideration, this is the case.

6. This question-answer pair (4.11) and (4.12) actually occurred within a conversation at Kanesatake. The answer was deemed satisfactory by the interlocutor.

7. With respect to disjunctive questions, the speaker presupposes that a certain proposition is possibly true (yes-no question).

8. An answer that relates a definite place informs and asserts the question; an answer that relates an indefinite place asserts the question constituent. Also, it appears that this type of assertive information is

as acceptable as the type of answer that contains new information. It is not clear to us yet how to interpret and represent such a question-answer system.

9. We shall not insist upon further formalization. Muraki (1974) is to be consulted on this subject.

10. We are not entering the debate of whether, within the semantic representation, the focus can or cannot be marked. In this paper, we take the position that focus assignment is a semantic process. It, therefore, is accounted for within the discourse framework.

11. I am indebted to Marianne Williams who indicated clefting in Mohawk to me during a personal conversation.

12. We shall not discuss in this paper the possibility of pseudo-cleft sentences, although we have found some evidence of their existence in Mohawk:

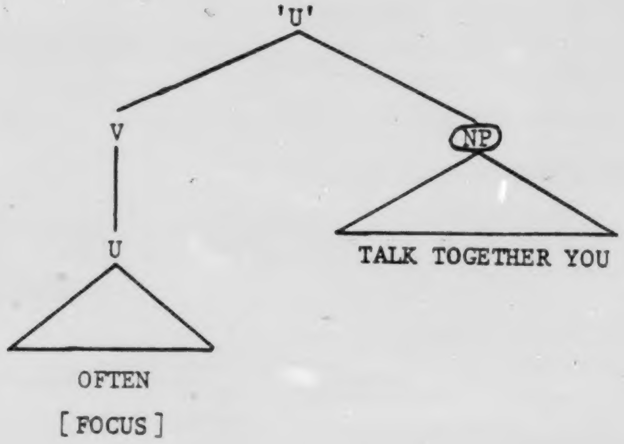
Q.	ókni	sakího	thé*	kv	né:?e	yehahuráhas
	also	Sakiho	anything	Q	CLFT	he-takes-gun

Is that what Sakiho also takes--a gun?

*thé is a contracted form of othé:nu 'anything'

On this subject, we refer the reader to Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1973), Schachter (1973), and Hankamer (1974).

13.



Near-surface representation of (4.24).

At some point within the derivation, U receives focus assignment, as in the above representation. The circled NP becomes a subordinated construction. We shall not further elaborate on the transformational patterns.

14. Such presuppositional behaviour of clefted yes-no questions in Navajo has been discussed by Kaufman (1975). Her thesis on complex questions in Navajo is highly recommended.

CHAPTER FIVE

QUESTION TYPES

5.1 Introduction. The semantic (presuppositional) nature of questions and answers as discussed in the previous chapter is sufficiently general that we feel obliged to further specify different meanings as correlated to forms. Questions and their answers in linguistic literature are generally viewed as unmarked or marked. This polar distinction is based on the criterion of usage: 'unmarked' implies situation unspecific question-answer types, and 'marked' implies situation specific question-answer types. This section shall thus be divided into two major divisions: the unmarked question types in 5.2, and the marked question types in 5.3.

Henceforth, the mapping of questions and answers will be within the framework of the discourse. This frame shall not always be stated explicitly, nor shall all its indices be. Whatever is irrelevant to a particular discussion shall be ignored. Presuppositions will be referred to only when we consider them to be relevant.

5.2 Unmarked Question Types. Questions contrast among themselves not only on syntactic but also on semantic grounds. We shall briefly enlarge upon syntactico-semantic contrasts of unmarked question types such as:

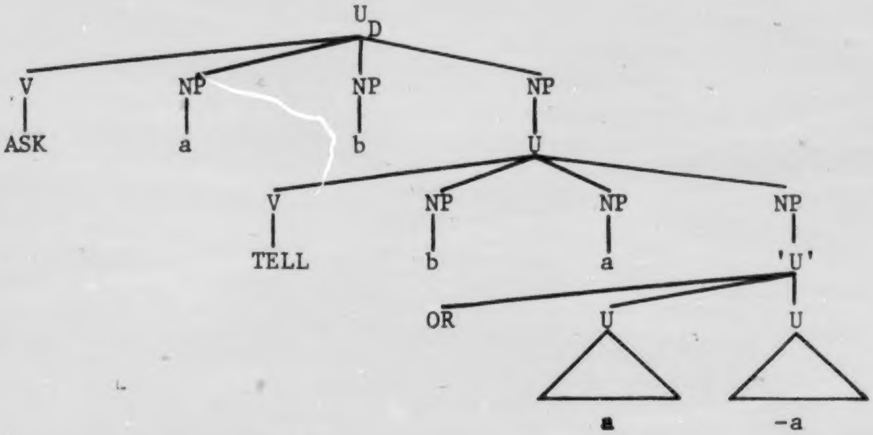
(i) Disjunctive questions
(ii) WH questions
(iii) Complex questions

5.2.1 Disjunctive Questions. The disjunctive questions were discussed from a syntactic point of view in Chapter Three. In this section, we shall integrate them, as speech act entities, into a discourse frame (near-surface representation).

5.2.1.1 'X or not-X' Questions.

'X or not-X' Variant (Theme or not-Theme Question)

(5.1)



(5.1) is a semantic representation of (5.2).

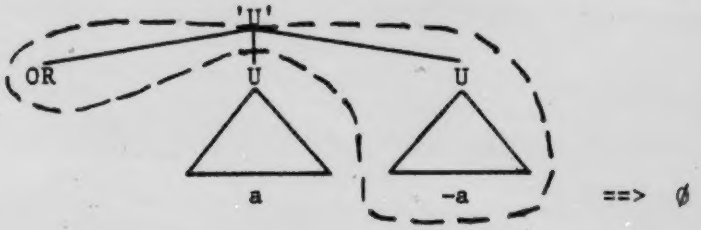
(5.2) vhoyó?tv kv kátu kv yah thahoyó?tv
he-will-work Q or Q not he-will-work
Is he going to work or isn't he going to work?

(One is not very pleased with the worker.)

On the surface, the performative is deleted. An appropriate answer would be hv 'yes' plus proposition, or yah 'no' plus proposition, but never hv or yah alone. The proposition, when asserted or negated, has then to be restated. In a yes-no question, however, hv or yah are acceptable answers.

'X' Variant (Yes-No Question) The second disjunct, which contains the negation, is deleted at some point within the derivation.

(5.3)



On the surface, we are left with a positive conjunct:

(5.4) vhoyó?tv kv
he-will-work Q
Is he going to work?

We are not really clear how to account for the differences between the 'X' and the 'X or not-X' variants. At this point it seems to us that differences are to be dealt with in semantic terms. The following representations are thus a first attempt to inquire into discourse properties of the two question variants: 'X' and 'X or not-X'.

We suggest that (5.4) can be represented by (5.5), and (5.2) by (5.6):

(5.5) PRSP [Δ [WORK HE]] [OR [AFFIRM [WORK HE]$_1$]
[NEG [WORK HE]$_2$]]

(5.6) PRSP [Δ [WORK HE]] [OR [AFFIRM [WORK HE]$_1$]
[NEG [WORK HE]$_2$]]
Condition: Focus assigned to conjunct$_{1, 2}$.

Deletion of conjuncts can apply to (5.5) because of lack of focus.

As we can see from these formulae, the semantic content for a yes-no question is not entirely identical to that of the 'X or not-X' question.

In (5.5), the speaker asks the addressee whether the proposition is true or false. In other words, the speaker presupposes that the addressee is familiar with the truth value of the proposition. In (5.6), the speaker still asks for the affirmation or negation of the truth value. Only his explicit statement of the theme or not-theme polarity obliges the addressee in turn to restate the one theme affirmed or negated. It follows that these disjunctive variants are only syntactically identical but not otherwise. Within the discourse, they are overtly marked apart by the type of answer(s) that they elicit.

There is one final note of importance which pertains to the scope of the assertion. The scope of the affirmation or negation is the constituent under focus which can differ, e.g. in (5.4) and (5.7). The whole utterance, in (5.4), is under focus. In (5.7), a narrowing of the scope occurs; the exclusive constituent under focus is that of the adverb.

(5.7) Q. yo?tká:te? kv thoyó?tvs
it-is-often Q he-works-there
Does he work there often?

A. yah teyo?tká:te? thoyó?tvs
not it-is-often he-works-there
(No), he doesn't work there often.

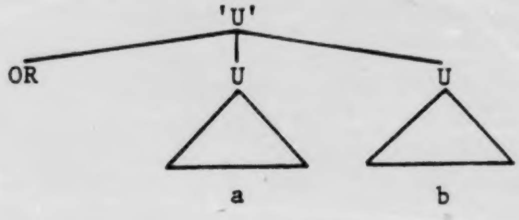
The adverb is placed in initial position within the utterance, or to the left of the question particle kv. The constituent under focus does not necessarily correlate on the surface with the element in initial position--as seen in (5.8) and (5.9).

(5.8)	Q.	káti	kv	sahrúkha	oserunikéha
		therefore	Q	you-speak-it	in-French
		Therefore, do you speak French?			
	A.	yah	thé	tekahrúkha	
		not	thing	I-speak-it	
		(No), I don't speak it.			
(5.9)	Q.	táhnu	kv	wesakv́:nore	
		and	Q	it-rained-on-you	
		And did it rain on you?			
	A.	yah	teyokvnorú:ne		
		not	it-rained		
		(No), it didn't rain.			

In both (5.8) and (5.9), the entire utterance is under focus. Consequently, the truth value of the whole proposition is to be affirmed or negated. The scope of affirmation or negation is that of the entire proposition.

5.2.1.2 'X or X' Questions. In the semantic representation, 'U' of a choice question takes on the following form:

(5.10)



as in utterance (5.11):

(5.11) Q. ró:ta?s kv kátu kv royé:ru
he-sleeps Q or Q he-is-awake
Is he sleeping or is he awake?

A. hv , nú:wa ró:ta?s
yes, now he-sleeps
Yes, he is sleeping now.

There is definitely a choice involved. The speaker pretends that there are a number of alternative propositions, of which one or more are true. If the addressee answers with 'no' in Mohawk, he pretends that one or all propositions are false and that he knows an alternative one, which he would then add. If not added, the questioner will ask for it, since his negation implies some withheld knowledge.

5.2.2 WH Questions. The WH morphemes (phrases) and their morphological composition have been discussed at length in Chapter Three. In this section, we shall discuss WH questions and their discourse meaning in relation to their syntactic form.

WH questions in Mohawk differ from disjunctive ones, both syntactically and semantically, in at least two ways:

(i) A simple WH question is signalled by a WH element that focusses interrogatively on a particular argument. An acceptable answer to a WH question is an utterance that specifies the argument under question. However, a disjunctive question is signalled by kátu 'or' and/or kv 'question particle' that focus interrogation on the whole or part of the proposition (see preceding section). An acceptable answer asserts or negates the propositional element(s) under question.

(ii) The questioned element(s) under focus: (a) in a simple WH question is always moved into utterance-initial position; and (b) in a complex WH question are always moved into proposition-initial positions. In a disjunctive question with only part of its proposition under focus, the focussed element is often but not always in utterance-initial position. However, WH and disjunctive questions have one thing in common: they have the same performative reading which indicates the act of inquiring: 'I ask you to tell me'.

Let us now consider the syntactico-semantic aspects of WH questions. We propose that a WH question is formed by two distinct processes:

(i) focus assignment (Chang (1972)) to the indefinite NP which yields the WH morpheme;[1]

(ii) WH-movement (Baker (1970) and Bresnan (1970)) of the WH morpheme leftwards, into utterance-initial position.

These processes shall be respectively illustrated informally as follows:

(a) SOME X
[FOCUS]
(X is a subclass of nouns: THING, PERSON, REASON, TIME, PLACE, etc.)

e.g. as in ok nahó:tv? ==> oh nahó:tv?
'some thing' ==> 'what thing'/'what'

(b)

$$\underbrace{\begin{matrix} X & - & \text{WH morpheme} & - & X \\ 1 & & 2 & & 3 \end{matrix}}_{\text{WH-movement}} \Longrightarrow 2 \quad 1 \quad 3$$

The WH question can thus be formulated as (5.12).

(5.12)
$$\underbrace{\text{ASK} - X - [\,_{U}\text{TELL} - X -}_{1}\ \underset{2}{[\,_{U}X} - \underset{3}{[\,_{NP}X\,]} - \underbrace{X^{n}\,] - X\,]}_{4}\ X \quad \Longrightarrow$$

$$1 \qquad 3 \qquad 2 \qquad 4$$

Condition: 3 contains [FOCUS] (WH morpheme).

Notice that the indefinite noun phrase (i)(a) is moved to the left into the first position within the 'U' utterance (ii)(b).

We have previously referred to WH morphemes globally as indefinite noun phrases. Some linguists have classified WH morphemes into definite and indefinite types. Katz & Postal (1964) base such a claim on syntactic grounds. They suggest, for example, that 'which one' cannot co-occur with 'else', whereas 'who' can. From a semantic point of view, 'which one' refers to a definite set of possible alternatives. Within this set the choice, however, is indefinite. We might, therefore, agree with Grosu (1975: 473) that 'which one' and 'who' both share the domain of indefiniteness, even though the domain of the former is more restricted than that of the latter. Katz & Postal further propose that all interrogative phrases such as 'which one, 'which place' are definite noun phrases, while single interrogative words are indefinite. They base their claim on distributional facts as seen above. This claim, if applied to Mohawk, is not viable; for example, ka? nú:wa 'which place' stands for an indefinite locative, irregardless of its morphological composition. Consequently, we argue that question-answer formations have to be treated semantically rather than syntactically, if we want to understand their intrinsic purposes.

Any WH question requests identification of an indefinite and unknown entity. If this is not so, then they will not qualify as situationally unmarked interrogatives. We thus propose that all WH morphemes share the same domain: that of indefiniteness. For some, however, this domain is more restricted[2] than for others.

WH morphemes take on two functions within a syntactico-semantic perspective: they fill pronominal and adverbial positions. Members of each of the two subcategories are first listed below, and then exemplified respectively in (5.13) and (5.14).

(i) The pronominal subcategory contains:

úhka?	'who'
oh nahó:tv?	'what'
ka? niká:yv	'which one'

(ii) The adverbial subcategory comprises:

ká?tke	'when'
to	'how'
ka? nú:we	'which place'
oh nutyé:rv	'why'

(For a complete list, see Chapter Three.)

(5.13) nahó:tv? akatá:ti
PRT-?-is-(a)-thing I-should-say-it
What should I say?

(5.14) ka? nikahá:wi vkawatá:ko
which PRT-it-is-carrying she-will-fix-it
When will she fix it?

The semantic representation of (5.13), ignoring minor details, results in (5.15):

(5.15) $[_{U} X - [_{V} \text{SAY}] - X - [_{NP} \text{SOME THING} + \text{FOCUS}]]$

where the focal NP fills the object position. The semantic representation of (5.14) results in (5.16):

(5.16) $[_{U} \underbrace{[_{V} \text{AT}] - t_{i}}_{\underline{\text{ka?}}\ \underline{\text{niká:yv?}}} + \text{FOCUS} - [_{U} \text{FIX SHE IT}]]$

'(at) which time'

where the adverbial constituent is analyzed as a two-place predicate: t_i representing the indefinite temporal NP, and 'AT' the temporal predicate.

The WH question, now treated from a presuppositional point of view, will result in (5.17) if we take (5.13) as an example:

(5.17) $\text{PRSP} \ [\text{SHOULD} [\text{SAY I} \ \Delta]] \quad [\text{SHOULD} [\text{SAY I} \ [\overline{\text{SOME}} \ \text{THING} + \text{FOCUS}]]]$

The focussed constituent within the assertion contains a primary focus stress '$\overline{\quad}$' that triggers off morphophonemic transformations of the element under stress. Once the transformation is completed, the stress is then deleted:

(5.18) [$\overline{\text{OK}}$ NAHÓ:TV? + FOCUS] ==> [OH NAHÓ:TV? + FOCUS]

Condition: OH contains WH segment.

At a later stage the question phrase will be moved to the uppermost left of the utterance and the feature [+ FOCUS] will be deleted.

In cases where the question is introduced by a WH morpheme rather than by a WH phrase, the former will be marked by the primary focus stress on the element that precedes the indefinite pronoun marker -k, as in (5.19):

(5.19) [ÚH$\overline{\text{KA}}$K + FOCUS] ==> [ÚHKA? + FOCUS]

Condition: ÚHKA? contains WH segment.

The primary focus stress in (5.19) triggers off the morphological transformation. As illustrated in (ii)(b) the WH morpheme is later on moved leftward to form a surface structure as, for example, in (5.20):

(5.20) úhka? kuwatá:ko
who she-fixes-it
Who is fixing it?

(5.20) represented within a presuppositional viewpoint results in (5.21):

(5.21) PRSP [FIX Δ IT] [FIX [SOME$\overline{\text{ONE}}$ + FOCUS] IT]

Notice that the primary stress is placed on the second element of the focussed NP within the assertion.

5.2.3 Complex Questions. We cannot completely omit complex question constructions since they represent a minor part of our collected data. Interestingly enough, most of these we have found within school conversations. A typical example is shown in (5.22):

(5.22) Q. úhka? roteryv́:tare nahó:tv? kí í:kare
who he-knows-it PRT-?-is-(a)-thing this-one it-is-in
Who knows what is in it (the picture)?

A. o?nv́hare
grape
A grape.

Example (5.22) shows that there may be some hierarchy among presuppositions. (5.22) presupposes that something is in the picture and, based on this presupposition, it further presupposes that someone knows what it is. The latter presupposition presupposes the former, as illustrated in (5.23):

(5.23) PRSP [BE IN Δ IT] [PRSP [KNOW Δ IT [BE IN SOME THING IT]]
[KNOW [SOME $\overline{\text{ONE}}$ + FOCUS] IT [BE IN [$\overline{\text{SOME}}$ THING + FOCUS]
IT]]]

Notice that focus specification applies to both of the indefinite entities. The operator [+ FOCUS] thus identifies the constituents that will be transformed into WH morphemes.

In everyday conversations, we have found other types of embedded questions, as in (5.24):

(5.24) Q. úhka? tyakotyerv́hto, í:se? kátu tsohké:ri
who she-was-first, you or Tsohkeri
Who was first, you or Tsohkeri?

(5.24) A. hv , tsohké:ri né?e
yes, Tsohkeri CLFT
It was Tsohkeri.

The question in (5.24) presupposes that someone was first, and based upon this presupposition, it follows that it was either 'you' or 'Tsohkeri'. We tentatively represent (5.24) as in (5.25):

(5.25) PRSP [BE FIRST Δ] [BE FIRST SOME $\overline{\text{ONE}}$ + FOCUS [OR [ASSERT
[YOU + FOCUS]]] [ASSERT [Tsohkeri + FOCUS]]]

The answer has to assert the type of choice under focus: 'you' or 'Tsohkeri' that was first.

We are giving these two examples to show that a semantic presuppositional approach is apt to capture some of the particularities of complex questions.

5.3 Marked Question Types. We have shown above that questions contrast among themselves on semantic and structural bases. Below we shall sketch question types that contrast from those above on the bases of their structure and of their usages. We shall refer to them as marked question types and discuss them briefly under the following headings:

(i) Indirect questions
(ii) Direct questions
(iii) Conditional questions
(iv) Echo questions

(v) Quiz questions

(vi) Rhetorical questions

(vii) Queclarative questions

(viii) Whimperative questions

(ix) Tag questions

5.3.1 Indirect Questions. Indirect questions differ from direct embedded questions such as (5.23)--see complex questions under 5.2.3--with respect to their dominance. The former questions are semantically subordinate, whereas the latter are semantically dominant within the utterance.

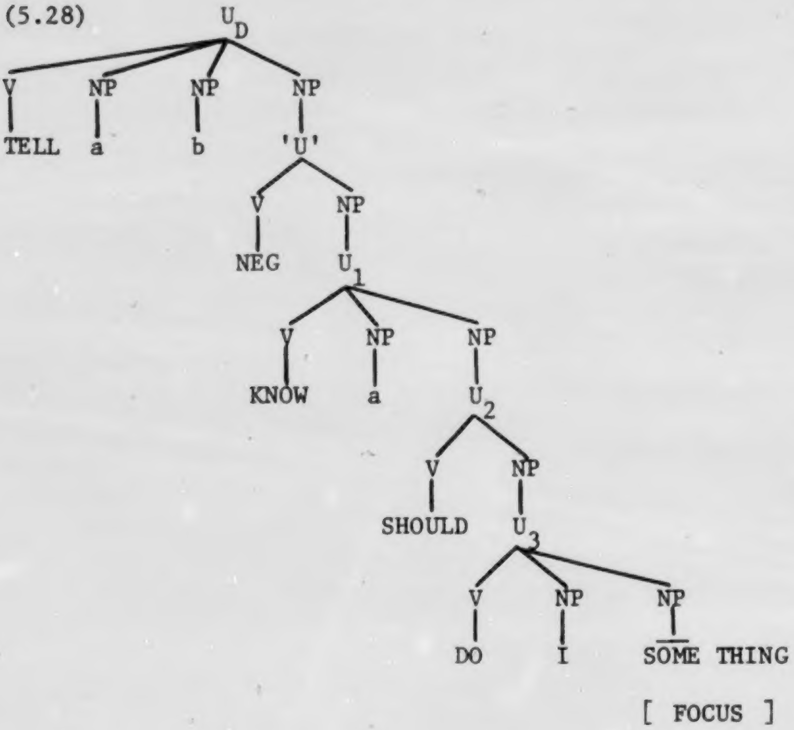
We shall illustrate indirect questions with a few examples found in Mohawk conversations:

(5.26) yah tewakateryv́:tare oh nátyere
not I-know-it WH PRT-I-should-do
I don't know what I should do.

(5.27) tsohké:ri wa?kroryányuskwe to na?teyaoseriyá:ku
Tsohkeri she-told-me-it how PRT-she-is-old
Tsohkeri was telling me how old she was.

The subordinate question functions as a sentential argument of the preceding predicate, filling the rôle of an object or a subject. In each above example, the question is a sentential object referred to in the first predicate by a non-human referent. (5.26) will be informally represented, minus certain details, as in (5.28) if we consider it an inherent part of the speech act situation within the discourse.

(5.28)


U_D
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL
a
b
'U'
V
NP
NEG
U_1
V
NP
NP
KNOW
a
U_2
V
NP
SHOULD
U_3
V
NP
NP
DO
I
SOME THING
[FOCUS]

The illocutionary force is that of saying. The interrogative pro-form within the U_2 is signalled by [FOCUS] and focal stress.

We shall now generalize the above indirect WH questions (5.26) and (5.27) without performative, however, as follows in (5.29):

(5.29)

$$\underbrace{X - [_{U_1} - \substack{\text{KNOW}\\\text{TELL}} - X -}_{1} [_{U_2} X - [_{NP} X] - X^n] - \underbrace{X] - X}_{4}$$

$$\begin{array}{cccc} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \implies \\ 1 & 3 & 2 & 4 \end{array}$$

Condition: 3 contains [FOCUS].

U_2 is dominated by a semantic class of verbs called by Chang (1972: 165) 'information verbs'. The underlying illocutionary force as exhibited in (5.28) is that of telling. No answer is expected. The indirect question is thus indicated by:

(i) the absence of the act of inquiring;

(ii) an information verb dominating the indirect question.

In (5.26) the embedded question is derived as previously described in 5.2.2. In (5.27) the subordinate construction is derived by similar derivational rules.

This question type has been excluded from our data since it does not request any answer.

5.3.2 Quoted Questions. In indirect discourse, the embedded question is understood from the point of view of the speaker. In direct discourse utterances, each embedded question is interpreted from the point of view of the subject (referred to in the second noun phrase) of the immediately dominating utterance:

(5.30)

kór	wahv́:ru	saró	kí?	kí
Paul	he-said-it	Charles	definitely	this-one

Paul said to Charles

tehotíthare	wahari?wanú:tu	ka?	né:?e	ne	sák
they-talked-together	he-asked-it	where	CLFT	NOM	Jack

as they were talking together, he asked him: 'Where is Jack?';

(5.30) wahá:ru khé:re kv rosotkéha yehv́:teru
he-said-it maybe DUB at-his-grandfather he-stays-there
he said: 'Maybe at his grandfather's he is staying'.

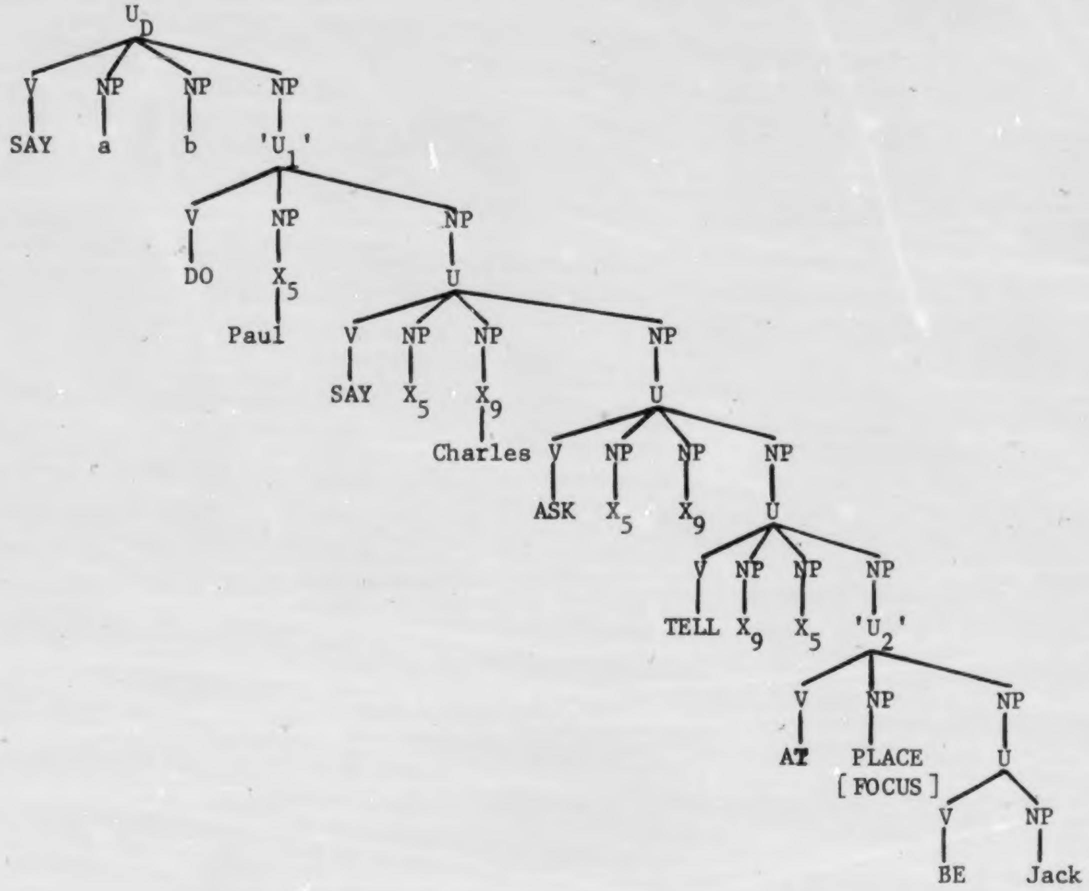
(5.31) wahá:ru to nahskárya?ke
he-said-it how (much) PRT-you-paid
He said: 'How much did you pay?';

wakí:ru áhsv nikahwístake
I-said-it three PRT-'dollar'
I said: 'Three dollars'.

These reported question-answer pairs structurally represent quotations within quotations. The semantic structure underlying (5.30) may be illustrated as follows, omitting any minor details, in (5.32).

Notice the type of overt performative used in both examples initiating the quote to follow: in (5.30) 'SAY' is later specified by the more restricted verb 'ASK'; in (5.31) the verb 'SAY' alone introduces the quoted question. It appears that in Mohawk, the act of asking is a subclass of the act of saying. Subsequently, a question can be introduced by either of the two predicates.

(5.32) Quoted Question

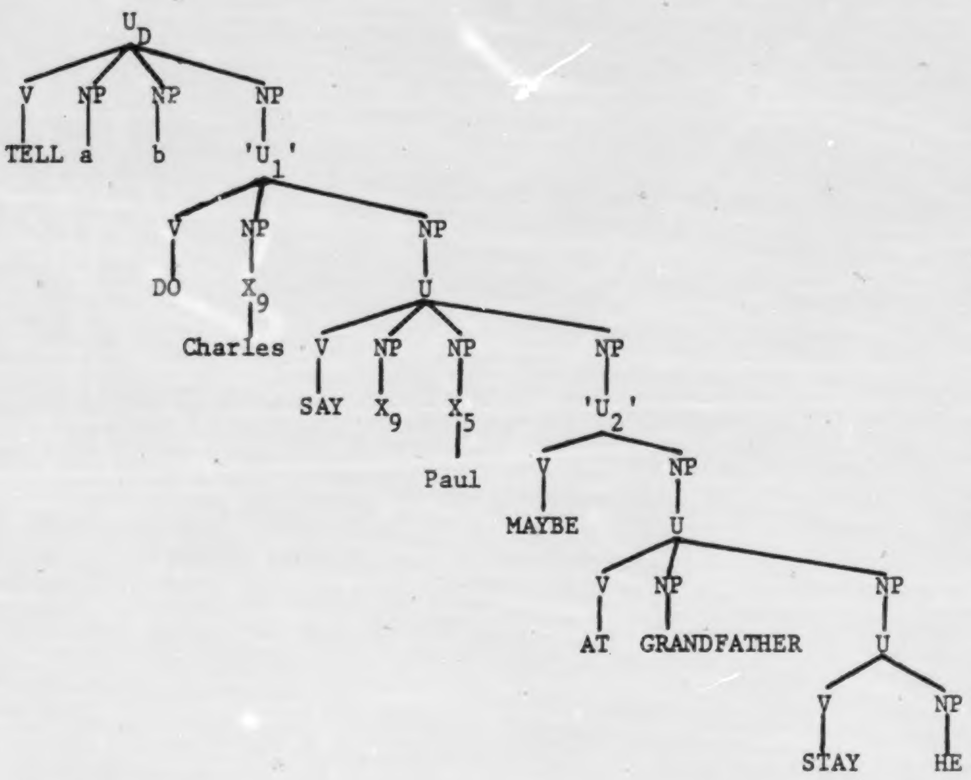

U_D
V
NP
NP
NP
SAY
a
b
'U_1'
V
NP
NP
DO
X_5
U
Paul
V
NP
NP
NP
SAY
X_5
X_9
U
Charles
V
NP
NP
NP
ASK
X_5
X_9
U
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL
X_9
X_5
'U_2'
V
NP
NP
AT
PLACE
[FOCUS]
U
V
NP
BE
Jack

Two quoted utterances (U's) occur: 'U_1' immediately dominated by a NP in the D-frame and 'U_2' commanded by a verb of telling. These embedded hypersentences thus make possible the analyses of direct discourse.

At a later stage in the derivation of (5.30), the performative is deleted in the topmost discourse utterance (U_D), and U immediately dominating U_2. Notice the arguments X_5 and X_9 in 'U_1' of the question are identified only once, when first referred to, as Paul and Charles. Within a lower tree, X_5 alone is retained and realized on the surface as a pronominal enclitic of 'ASK'. In the quoted answer, X_9 dominated by

'U_1' alone is retained and realized on the surface as a pronominal enclitic of 'SAY' , as shown in (5.33):

(5.33) Quoted Answer


U_D
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL
a
b
'U_1'
V
NP
NP
DO
X_9
Charles
U
V
NP
NP
NP
SAY
X_9
X_5
Paul
'U_2'
V
NP
MAYBE
U
V
NP
NP
AT
GRANDFATHER
U
V
NP
STAY
HE

From a structural point of view, the direct question, as well as the indirect question, function as sentential arguments referred to by the neuter pronoun in the preceding predicate. They both are embedded constructions. Their main differences lie in semantic realms:

(i) within the referential interpretation as mentioned above;

(ii) within the discourse situation--a direct question is dominated by the performative of inquiring or saying, therefore, it usually is followed by an answer;

(iii) within the act of performing--a quote[3] is acted out, but not so an indirect question. The speaker herewith assumes the rôle of another party. This holds true for a quoted question and a quoted answer also.

We shall no longer refer to this question type in this study.

5.3.3 Conditional Questions. The conditional question in Mohawk is introduced by an if-clause. This clause states a certain hypothetical situation, presupposed by the following question. In other words, a conditional question is an embedded construction where the questioned element is requested only under conditions specified by the subordinate if-clause.

(5.34) Q. tóka vshatya?tará:ko ne ya?níha
if he-himself-will-leave NOM your-father .
If your father is going to leave

úhka? káti ó:nv tvshá:ta?ne
who then now he-stands-up-again
who will then take his place?

A. tó:ka
'I-don't-know'
I don't know.

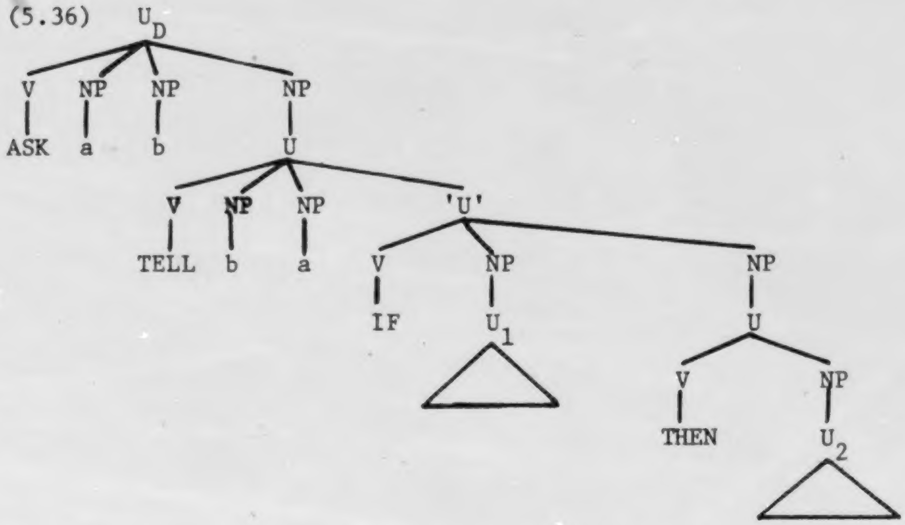
(5.35) Q. ake?nistv́ha to káti úhte nautahyakoyv́:take
my-mother how then I-wonder NOM-she-would-be-old
How old would my mother be

nayakúnheke?
NOM-she-would-be-alive
if she were alive?

(5.35) A. shaté:ku niwáhshv
eight PRT-ten
Eighty.

We shall tentatively represent the conditional question as follows:

(5.36)



The NP under question in U_2 contains focus. At some stage within the derivation the performative will be deleted as well as the predicate 'THEN' dominating U_2.

The conditional question differs from the unmarked ones:

(i) on the performative level--the speaker assumes 'U_1' to be a conditional statement to the following question 'U_2';

(ii) with respect to discourse presuppositions, the conditional serves as a warning to the listener not to assume that the speaker believes the antecedent to be true. The antecedent for Karttunen (1971) is always presupposed to be false, and for Lakoff (1970b) both the antecedent (if-clause) and the consequent are presupposed to be false. Bates (1974), however, suggests that the antecedent is not necessarily false but suspended. Such definition includes false as well as unknown antecedents. We opt for this latter position.

The if-clause thus becomes the felicity condition of the called-for response. Logically, we can postulate that a conditional question contains two utterances: 'if U_1, then U_2'. The U_2 has to match up with what is conveyed by U_1 in order to turn into a viable question.

Unfortunately, we know very little about either the syntactic or the semantic nature of conditional questions. There have been some remote references made by Lakoff (1974). Still, we would like to know more, for instance, about the semantic scope of if-clauses, the relation between presuppositions and the assertion, etc.

5.3.4 Echo Questions. The echo question is an utterance that is used in situations where the speaker intends to make sure of, or express surprise at what he has heard. He thus echoes part or the whole of the preceding utterance spoken to him. A unique, emphatically-stressed, rising intonation marks the final stressed vowel of the echo question, setting it apart from ordinary questions. It follows that such a question is only used if the referent of the NP is known by the speaker. Confirmation of the truth value, and further repetition (5.38), and specification of the questioned constituents are thus requested (5.37). Interestingly enough in my corpus, we found only yes-no echo questions and no WH ones.

(5.37) St. ó:nv tho natá?saweh
now there they-started
Now they have started.

EQ. ó:nv kv
now Q
Now?

A. hv
yes
Yes.

(5.38) Q. thó ne kv ná:?a thí:kv wisk yawv́:re
then NOM Q maybe that-one five ten
Wasn't it then 15 dollars

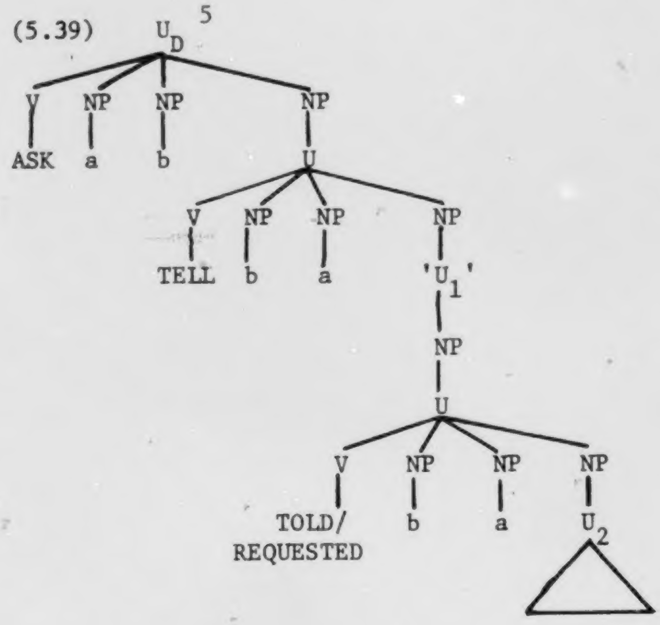
nikahwístake wahaná:to , wisk yawv́:re wasako?tyerú?kwa
PRT-'dollar' he-charged~~-it~~, five ten he-would-take-them
that he charged--fifteen to take them there?

EQ. wisk yawv́:re (kv)
five ten (Q)
Fifteen?

A. wisk yawv́:re sakího táhnu yakwateno?sohokú:?a thí:kv
five ten Sakiho and our-other-siblings that-one
Fifteen (dollars) for Sakiho and our other siblings.

As proposed by Sadock (1969) and Chang (1972), an echo question can be informally expressed as: 'I ask you to tell me whether you told/requested ... me that'U''. The underlying discourse structure of an echo question might be represented as follows:

(5.39)



(5.40) $[\,_{U}\text{ASK} - X - [\,_{U}\text{TELL} - X\ [\,_{U}(\text{TOLD/REQUESTED b a U})\ ] - X\ ] - X\ ]$

The superhypersentence (5.39) as called by Sadock (1969) is capturing the process of indirectivisation.

As in the direct question, U_2 is a quote. The quote, however, is a repeated one: 'Did you say U_2?'. Therefore, U_2 itself is not placed between quotation marks. The repeated or indirect quote signals a difference of intention: an answer is expected from the addressee that will clarify the constituent under question. This is not so in a direct quote. in (5.38) further specification of a constituent is expected, whereas in (5.37) the truth value of a stated constituent is to be reasserted or confirmed.

The underlying superhypersentence is entirely deleted with the exception of the lowest U where the focus assignment via kátu kv placement will transform the utterance into an echo question.

5.3.5 Quiz Questions. With only one exception, I have found all the marked question types listed in 5.3 in everyday Mohawk conversation from Kanesatake. The one exception is that of quiz questions. I have found this particular type in testing situations only, i.e. in school conversations between teacher and students in St. Regis. (5.41) and (5.42) shall illustrate such speech events.

(5.41)

Teacher:

Q. ók ne kv́ nukwá:ti
and NOM here PRT-this-side
and on this side (is who)?

Student:

A_1. raktsí:?a
my-older-brother
My older brother.

Teacher:

C.* yah, kv́ nirá:?a né:?e
no , this-here PRT-he-is-small CLFT
No, it is this small (boy) here.

A_2. ri
he-(to)-me
My

---

[*] C stands for correction.

(5.41)
Student:
A$_3$. ri?kv́:?a
my-younger-brother
My younger brother.

Teacher:
Ap.[*] ri?kv́:?a
my-younger-brother
My younger brother.

(5.42)
Teacher:
Q. sa?nistv́ha ya?nîha táhnu úhka
your-mother your-father and who
(There is) your mother, your father and who?

Student:
A. aktsí:?a
my-older-sister
My older sister.

(5.43)
Student:
St. takó:s otsitv́:?a
cat bird
(There is a) cat (and a) bird.

Teacher: (The teacher is pointing at the cat in the picture.)
Q. takó:s táhnu otsitv́:?a, káti (oh) nihatyérha thi
cat and bird , then (WH) PRT-he-is-doing that-one
The cat and the bird, so what is he (the cat) doing?

---

[*] Ap stands for approval.

(5.43)

Student:

A_1. (silence)

Teacher:

Rq.*	tsí:ru	í:rehre?	ahoyé:na?	ne	otsitv́:?a
	you-say-it	he-wants	he-would-catch-it	NOM	bird

Say: 'He wants to catch the bird'.

Student:

A_2.	í:rehre?	ahoyé:na?	notsitv́:?a
	he-wants	he-would-catch-it	NOM-bird

He wants to catch the bird.

What are the marks that attribute a quiz meaning to (5.41), (5.42), and (5.43)? Let us examine them on two levels: the syntactic (surface) first and then the semantic one.

On the surface in (5.42) and (5.43) the questioned elements, respectively the two proforms úhka? 'who' and oh 'what', have obviously undergone WH pro-formation. The WH-movement to utterance-initial position, though, has been applied in neither of the two cases. Otherwise, the question in (5.42) would read as (5.44):

(5.44) Who is there besides your father and your mother?

Likewise, (5.43 Q) would read as (5.45):

(5.45) What is he doing, the cat?

---

[*] Rq stands for request.

A first observation can be stated: questioned constituents in quiz questions occur in their respective (declarative) NP position, usually utterance non-initial. As for the question in (5.41), however, the requested noun phrase has been completely deleted.

We now have to modify the above observation: questioned constituents in quiz questions, if not deleted, occur as pro-forms in their respective declarative NP positions.

Notice, however, the partially deleted form in (5.41) of the requested noun. In other words, the teacher is providing her student with a partial answer. This leads us into a third observation. Unlike most question situations, the information is known already by the questioner, the teacher. In the absence of an answer, the teacher will provide the student with a partial one as in (5.41 A_2), or a complete one as in (5.43 Rq). In the latter, the answer is overtly marked by the performative 'SAY' which invites the student in turn to repeat the answer given by the teacher.

We now enter the domain of semantics. In all the three above questions, the underlying performative 'REQUEST' has been deleted. In other instances, however, 'TELL'/'SAY' was retained as an overt performative and this not only in an answer (5.43 Rq), but also in questions we have observed. The function of such overt performatives is to re-enforce or specify the expected action that the teacher requests from her student. Indirectly, the teacher thus stresses her authority position. If a student would demonstrate to his/her teacher, in a like manner, the type of performance expected, it would be considered as inappropriate. The privileged authority position of the teacher is signalled also by the fact that answers are evaluated immediately as false or correct ones.

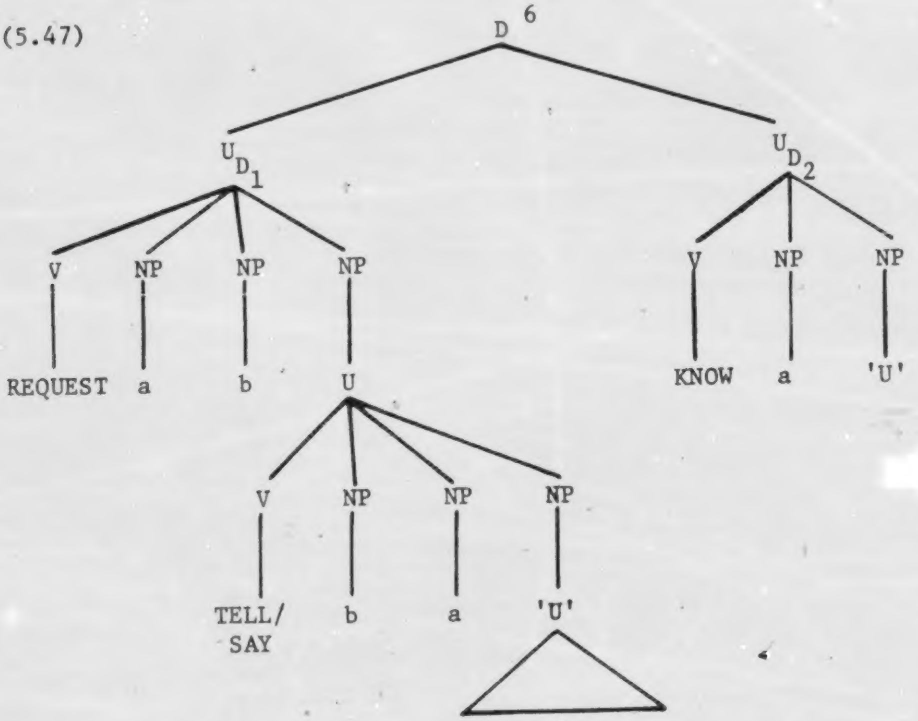
In (5.41), the teacher shows approval by repeating the answer. In Mohawk, repetitions of this nature are not uncommon. What is rather unusual, however, is that the pronoun of the repeated noun phrase is in the first person rather than in the second person. In an ordinary conversation, (5.41 Ap) would have taken on the following form as in (5.46):

(5.46) Your younger brother.

Rather than confirming the given information--which would have been the case if (5.46) was uttered--(5.41 Ap) implies that the teacher is approving the given proper form: therefore, her identical repetition. Confirming a given answer implies accepting it. In a usual answer-question exchange, a given answer is accepted on the basis that the speaker is believed to be as sincere as the one who has asked the question. In a quiz situation, the tester will evaluate an answer on the basis of his own knowledge of what the right answer should be. The student's sincerity in answering becomes thus irrelevant. As we have seen in the above answers, a teacher might then reject and correct (5.41 C), teach (5.43 Rq), or finally approve (5.41 Ap) the responses given by her students.

How can we capture all these and many more properties not mentioned here in a comprehensive, semantic representation? Peripheral attempts have been made by such linguists as Kuno & Robinson (1972), Sadock (1974), Cole (1974), and Hundsnurscher (1975). Still, we know very little about the diverse, syntactico-semantic aspects of quiz question. Sadock has refused to commit himself on the logical properties of this question type 'because little is known' about them (p. 123). Yet we shall endeavour a preliminary conjecture on some discourse aspects of quiz questions, as in (5.47).

(5.47)


D 6
U_D1
U_D2
V
NP
NP
NP
REQUEST
a
b
U
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL/ SAY
b
a
'U'
V
NP
NP
KNOW
a
'U'

Condition: WH-movement is filtered in 'U'.

In the process of derivation in U_{D_1}, the verb 'REQUEST' is always deleted, and 'TELL'/'SAY' sometimes. 'U' is retained in U_{D_1}. U_{D_2} is completely deleted. We can thus paraphrase (5.47) as (5.48):

(5.48) I request you to tell me 'U'--I know 'U'.

D has two subtrees: U_{D_1} and U_{D_2}. U_{D_1} represents the question type, and U_{D_2} the assertion of the answer known by the questioner.

We hope that this limited attempt to handle quiz questions will stimulate others to further inquire into this relatively unknown domain.

5.3.6 Rhetorical Questions. Rhetorical questions do not expect any answers. Unlike the preceding questions, nothing in their structural composition will mark them as definitely rhetorical. Thus again, only the discourse context will permit the addressee to recognize a question as rhetorical. For example, a speaker who leaves no time for an answer might thus signal his question to be rhetorical in nature. He further implies that the answer is not only obvious to him but also to the addressee.[7] Therefore, its verbalization becomes unnecessary. Semantically, this suggests that the presupposition(s) underlying a rhetorical question is (are) shared by both the speaker and the addressee. Note the following example in Mohawk:

(5.49)

Speaker 1:

Q_1.	káti	na?	nyvtsá:wv?ne
	then	maybe	PRT-it-will-happen

Then what will happen?

Q_2.	nyvtsá:wv?ne	oh	ní:yot	yah	teyakonú:tv?s
	PRT-it-will-happen	WH	PRT-it-is-like	not	she-feeds-milk

What will happen if she does not feed milk

onú:ta?	ne	akoya?okú:?v?s
milk	NOM	her-children

to her children?

(5.49)

Speaker 2:

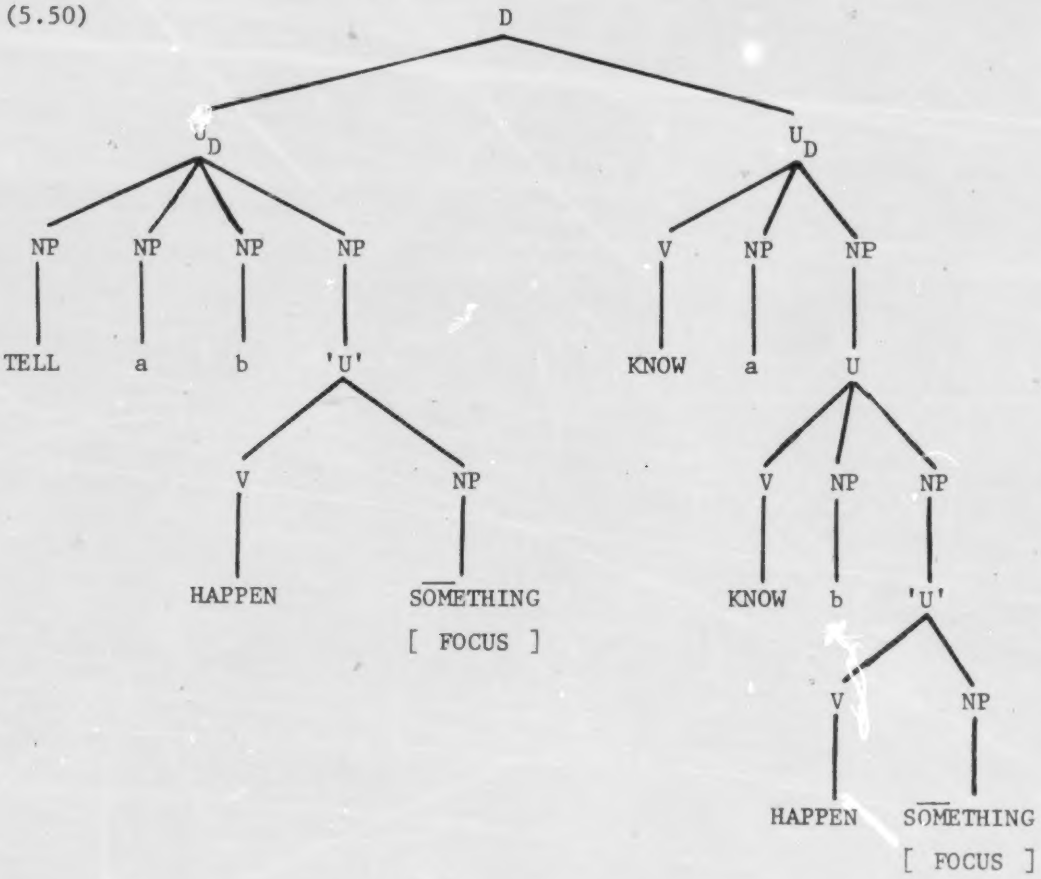
A. hv

yes

Yes.

In (5.49) the implicit answer to the second question (Q_2) is explicitly acknowledged and asserted by Speaker_2. Herewith, he confirms implicitly that he shares the same knowledge with Speaker_1: 'the answer to Q_1 and Q_2 is obvious'. We shall postulate the following structure for (5.49 Q_1):

(5.50)


D
U_D
U_D
NP
NP
NP
NP
TELL
a
b
'U'
V
NP
HAPPEN
SOMETHING
[FOCUS]
V
NP
NP
KNOW
a
U
V
NP
NP
KNOW
b
'U'
V
NP
HAPPEN
SOMETHING
[FOCUS]

(5.50) may be paraphrased as: 'I tell you what will happen--I know you know what will happen'.

The tree has two subtrees. The first one has the structure of an indirect quoted question whereas the second asserts the answer to it. Its form is also that of an indirect question. In the process of derivation, both subtrees are deleted with the exception of the lowest U within the first subtree.

We do not pretend to have covered all the possible types of rhetorical questions, nor all their structural complexities.[8] Our intent was solely to confirm its existence in Mohawk and how it might be used in some instances.

5.3.7 Queclarative Questions.

The rhetorical question is closely related to the queclarative one. Both question types implicitly assert the underlying proposition. The difference lies within the intention of the speakers: whether the speaker is telling about the proposition in the form of a question, or whether he is asking for information and confirmation by asserting the underlying proposition. The latter is the queclarative type. The speaker asserts and thereby confirms the opposite polarity from that which he is apparently asking.

(5.51)

Speaker 1:

Q_1.	thé	kv	serhó:roks	ne	sanú:tsi
	anything	Q	you-cover-it	NOM	your-head (motor)

Do you cover the motor with anything?

Speaker 2:

A_1.	yah	(laughs)
	no	

No.

(5.51)

Speaker 1:

Q_2. tsi niwashú:tes
during PRT-night
During the night?

Speaker 2:

A_2. yah
no
No.

Speaker 1:

R.[*] ah ne ki hú:ni
ah NOM this-one 'it-caused-it'
Ah, that's the cause (of your troubles).

(5.52)

Speaker 1:

Q_1.[9] tsi kaná:tayv? nú:we nusayákwe
that town-on-ground PRT-place PRT-we-were-going-there
There on Indian land we were going

thi tyiyutaká:rute wáhi nú
that-one 'hole-in-the-pail' TAG there
to the hole in the pail, you know?

Speaker 2:

Q_2. yáh kv ne té:kv[#] thi tyoshuwaká:rute
not Q NOM the-one that-one 'hole-in-the-ground'
Isn't that place called 'hole in the ground'?

---

[*] R stands for response.

[#] *te-* in *té:kv* is a negative prefix.

(5.52)

Speaker 2:

Q_2. ratina?tú?kwa
they-call-it
(correction of place name)

Speaker 1:

A. hv
yes
Yes.

(5.53) Q.

káti	nutyé:rv	tsi	wahóryo	nihukstv́ha
then	PRT-it-is-(a)-matter	that	he-beat-him	PRT-he-is-old

Then why did he beat him--he is old?

A.

ne	kwí	ká:tu
NOM	definitely	I-say

That's what I say.

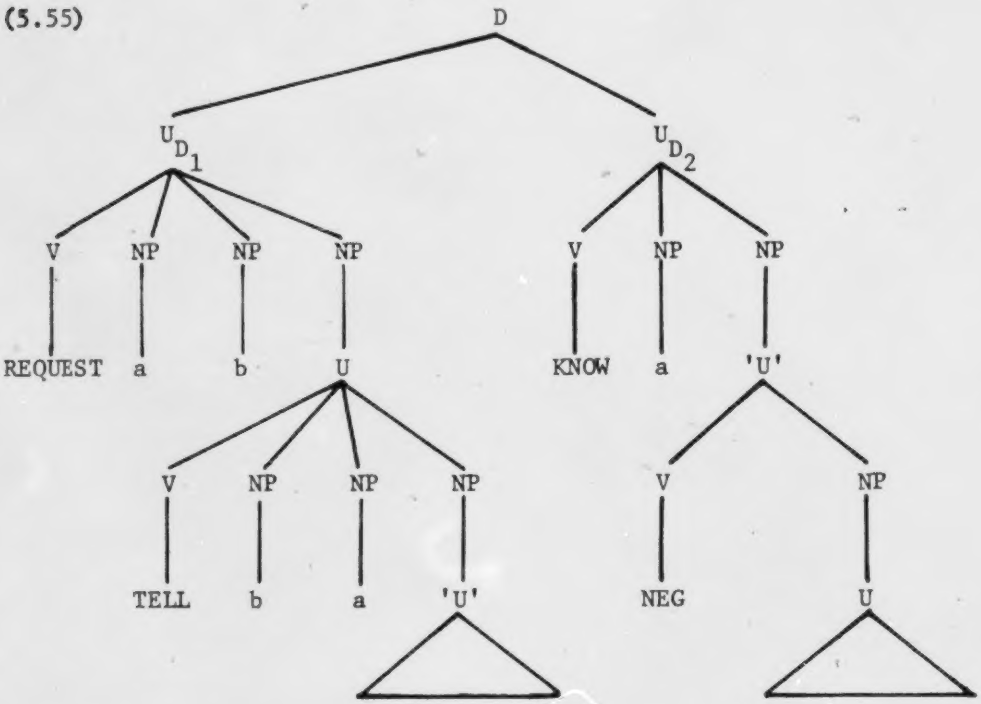
The Q_2 in (5.51), a positive yes-no question, has definitely an inherent negative bias, whereas the bias in (5.52 Q_2), a negative yes-no question, is definitely a positive one. (See Pope (1975) on biased yes-no questions.) In either case, the polarity requested is not marked overtly within the uttered question. The discourse context--in both instances that of the preceding utterance(s) and the following one--unambiguously marks the questions semantically as queclarative types.

The underlying meaning of (5.51 Q_2), for instance, may be paraphrased as follows in (5.54):

(5.54) I request that you tell me whether during the
night you cover your (skidoo) motor (or not)--
I know that during the night you do not cover it.

(5.54) can be represented as in (5.55):

(5.55)


D
U_{D_1}
U_{D_2}
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
NP
REQUEST
a
b
U
KNOW
a
'U'
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
TELL
b
a
'U'
NEG
U

We postulate in agreement with Sadock (1970, 1974) that queclaratives are derived from two underlying discourse utterances, as in (5.55). They are represented in the form of two subtrees within the discourse frame, U_{D_1} and U_{D_2}. U_{D_1} represents the act of inquiring, and U_{D_2} the assertion of the opposite polarity of the proposition under question. In the process of derivation, U_{D_2} is completely deleted, while in

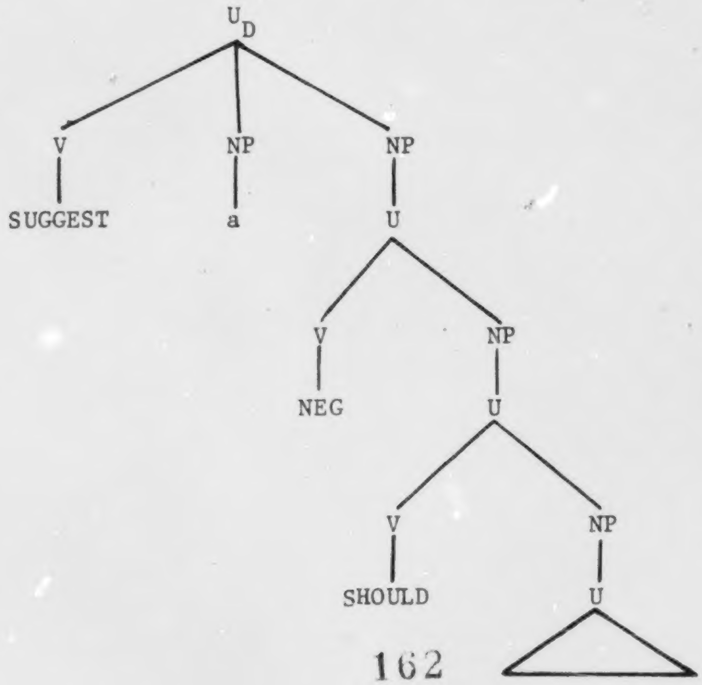
U_{D_1} only the performative is. The lowest 'U', the interrogative utterance within U_{D_1} is retained on the surface. The speaker does not imply that the addressee shares the knowledge (assertion) as in the rhetorical question. This fact is especially evident in (5.52 Q_2). There is an element of doubt within the speaker's words. Therefore, he requests an answer.

We have a series of 'why' questions (cf. (5.53)), in my data which suggest the opposite polarity of the apparent proposition. In (5.53), the proposition asserted is understood as:

(5.56) There was no reason why he beat him--he is old.

This proposition entails a suggestion: he should not have beaten him because he is old. The addressee in (5.53 A) is affirming the underlying proposition and the entailed suggestion. We would have to modify the discourse frame for these type of queclaratives by attaching (5.57). Where and how is not our present concern.

(5.57)



Yet, how should 'why' queclaratives be represented? While first asserted as in (5.53), they might then be answered as ordinary 'why' questions. For example, in (5.53), the answerer could have continued: 'It's because of the alcohol ...'. This domain must remain unanswered and unresearched for the time being.

5.3.8 Whimperative Questions. Whimperatives are a class of questions that carry the illocutionary force of a request and the intent for action. They have been discussed at length by Gordon & Lakoff (1971), Green (1972, 1973), Sadock (1974), and Johnson (1975). It is generally understood that such a question type requests either a verbal response--whether or not the act is carried out--and/or a non-verbal one. A question that roughly implies by its act the imposition of the questioner's will upon the addressee is called by Green (1972) an 'impositive'. They differ from whimperatives also in the type of answer required. Whimperatives do not necessarily ask for a verbal response, whereas impositives usually do. In the former, for example, 'no' in certain circumstances could be acceptable. Not so in the latter case. A qualifying statement always has to follow 'no'.

We shall illustrate the whimperative question type and the impositive respectively, each with one example. We propose that impositive questions are a subclass of whimperatives, realized by both disjunctive and WH questions. However, the yes-no whimperatives do not seem to ask for the opposite polarity, whereas the 'why' impositives seem to do so, just as the queclaratives do. Both whimperatives and the impositives function as requests for action. Yet, they differ at least in respect to their illocutionary force, and the type of response requested. We shall discuss below only the 'why' impositive in Mohawk.

5.3.8.1 Whimperative.

(5.58) Q. terés , aú:tu kv ahsenhó:tu thi
Theresa, you-could Q you-would-close-door that-one
Theresa, could you close the door that

ohná:kv , ostúha tewakenhohútyu ó:nv
in-the-back, a-little-bit I-opened-door now
is in the back?--I opened it a little bit and now

ostúha sakanúhsanoste
a-little-bit again-house-is-cool
it is a little bit cool in the house.

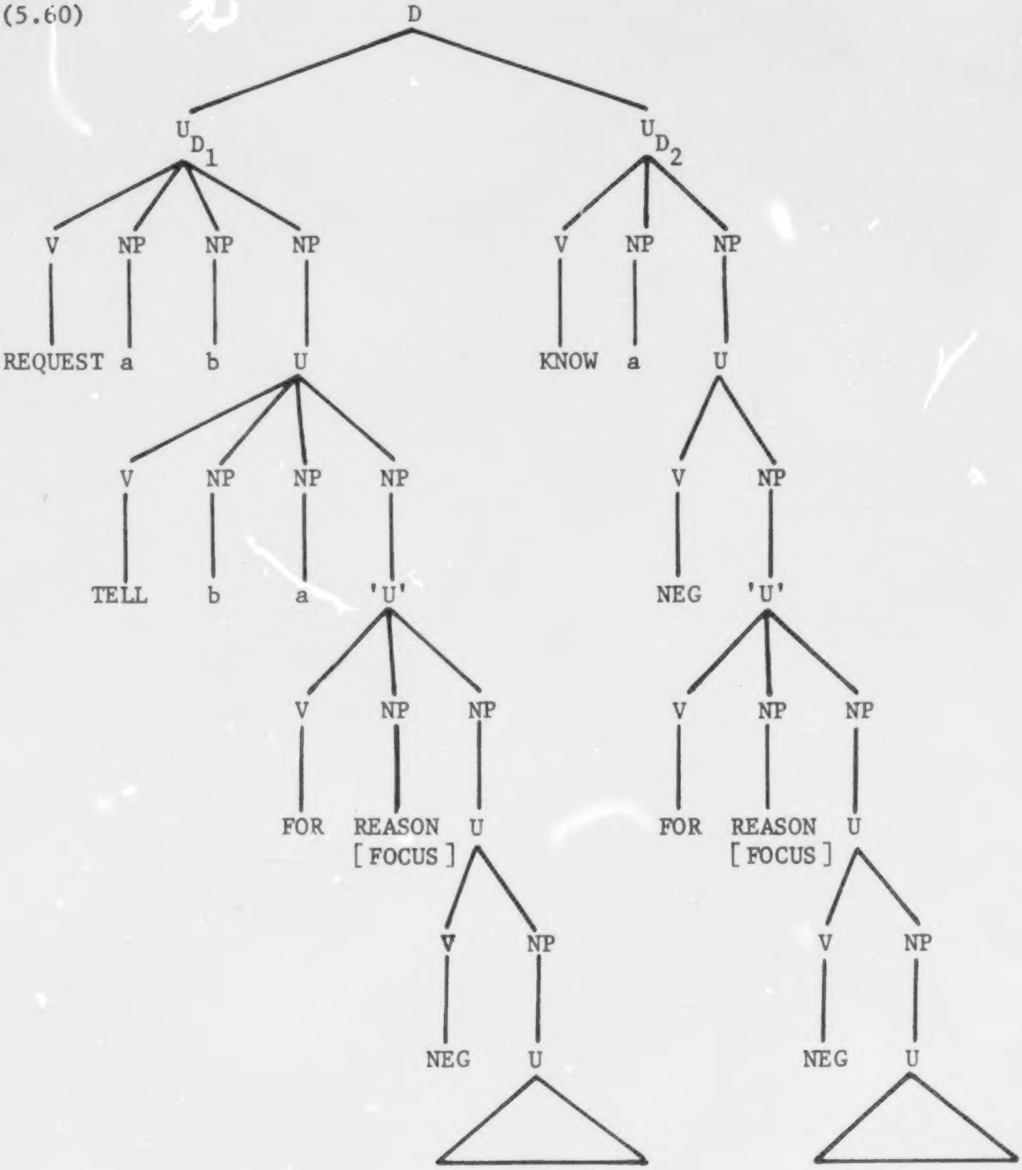
5.3.8.2 Impositive.

(5.59) Q. oh nutyé:rv tsi yah tesatenú?karu
WH PRT-it-is-(a)-matter that not you-cut-your-hair
Why don't you have your hair cut?

A. tó:ka
'I-don't-know'
I don't know.

We can illustrate the underlying representation of (5.59) as follows in (5.60):

(5.60)


D
U_{D_1}
U_{D_2}
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
NP
REQUEST
a
b
U
KNOW
a
U
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
TELL
b
a
'U'
NEG
'U'
V
NP
NP
V
NP
NP
FOR
REASON [FOCUS]
U
FOR
REASON [FOCUS]
U
V
NP
V
NP
NEG
U
NEG
U

Notice the semantic resemblance of (5.60) with queclaratives. We suggest, in agreement with Sadock (1974), that whimperatives--and impositives in particular--are a special case of queclaratives. As in queclaratives, only 'U' in U_{D_1} is retained on the surface. We can paraphrase (5.60) as in (5.61):

(5.61) I request you to tell the reason why you do not do 'U'--
I know there is no reason why you do not do 'U'.

There is a softened suggestion entailed for (5.59). We have discussed this point already for 'why' queclaratives above.

The 'why' impositive must have the subject 'YOU' as in (5.60) or 'WE', but not so the queclarative. It is thus the subject referent that differentiates the 'why' impositive from the 'why' queclarative.

5.3.9 Tag Questions. In Mohawk, we have distinguished at least four types of tag questions--those that:

(i) ask for agreement (confirmation, according to Sadock (1974: 136));
(ii) inform the addressee without expecting a verbal response;
(iii) ask of the addressee his/her opinion of the truth assumed by the speaker;
(iv) ask for agreement and/or specification of a negative proposition.

We shall illustrate respectively the four tag question types below, and then briefly examine each one in turn.

(5.62) Q. ronatewirará?kwv wí thi
they-kept-baby TAG that-one
They adopted the baby, didn't they?

A. hv , ronatewirará?kwv thi
yes, they-kept-baby that-one
Yes, they adopted him.

(5.63) Q. rauwatv́?a ki? wáhi
his-nephew definitely TAG
It's his nephew, isn't it?

(5.64) Q. yako?nistv́?shv wíhi
she-still-has-mother TAG
She still has her mother, has she?

A. khére kv hv yako?nistv́?shv
maybe DUB yes she-still-has-mother
Yes, maybe she still has her mother--

í:nu kiné?e niyó:re tyé:teru
far quite PRT-it-is-far she-lives
she is living quite far away.

(5.65) Q_1. yah kv teyurohkawí:nes
not Q she-goes-fishing
She isn't going fishing, is she?

A_1. yah
no
No.

Q_2. yáh kv
no Q
No, eh?

A_2. yah, yowísto ne nowisá:ke
no , it-is-cold NOM NOM-on-ice
No, it is too cold on the ice.

Notice the invariable tag form wâhi[10] for all the four questions. The same tag can be attached or inserted into any declarative-form utterance. (5.62) to (5.64) are declarative utterances that have a tag attached. We share the opinion of Lakoff (1974) who suggests 'that tag questions are really reduced forms of real questions' (p. 339). Lakoff further suggests that they are always amalgamated onto the end of sentences.

In Mohawk, tags usually are clause final, but not always as seen in (5.62). We shall not further discuss such syntactic problems. The semantic function of tags in Mohawk is:

(i) to attribute the illocutionary force of a question reading to the proposition;

(ii) to bias (a) a positive declarative statement toward an obligatory positive answer, or

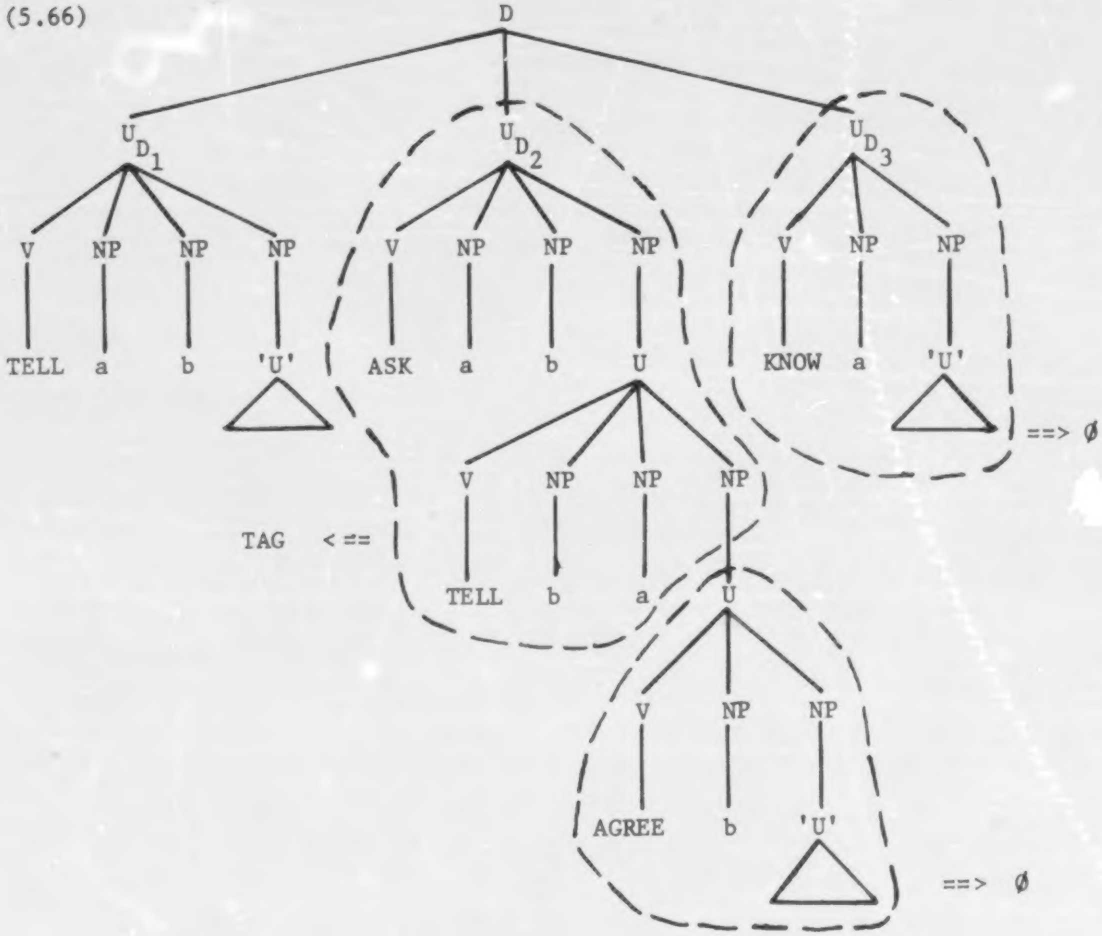
(b) a negative declarative statement toward an obligatory negative answer.

The four tag types differ among themselves, however, with respect to their illocutionary force, as we shall show below. There are also some structural differences in thus amalgamating (5.62) to (5.64) into one group where the tag is overt, and (5.65) into another group where the tag is implicit. We shall now discuss each tag individually.

5.3.9.1 Tag Question (5.62): Agreement Requested.

Tentatively, we shall represent (5.62) as follows:

(5.66)


D
U_{D_1}
U_{D_2}
U_{D_3}
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL
a
b
'U'
V
NP
NP
NP
ASK
a
b
U
V
NP
NP
KNOW
a
'U'
==> Ø
V
NP
NP
NP
TAG <==
TELL
b
a
U
V
NP
NP
AGREE
b
'U'
==> Ø

(5.62) can be informally paraphrased in (5.67):

(5.67) I tell you that they adopted him--I ask you to tell me that you agree they adopted him--I know that they adopted him.

Sadock (1974) suggests that the hearer and the speaker share the same opinion. Consequently, he postulates the performative 'REMIND' in U_{D_1}. 'TELL' is used in place of 'REMIND' by us because it introduces a declarative. We claim that shared opinion is implied in the underlying structure of the tag U_{D_2} in the verb 'AGREE'. We further assume, in agreement with Chang (1972), that this tag question is dominated by three D-utterances. The first D-sentence corresponds to the declarative sentence in (5.62); the second and the third correspond largely to the D-structure of the queclarative. The force of assertion is doubled by asserting the proposition twice: once in U_{D_1} and once in U_{D_3}. At some stage in the derivation, the tag particle is derived from the performative in the second D-utterance. The remaining subtrees in this D-utterance, as well as the entire third D-utterance, are deleted. The representation seems to be plausible, though primarily on semantic grounds.

5.3.9.2 Tag Question (5.63): Information Given. In 5.3.9.1, we have assumed that both the speaker and the addressee know something about the proposition. In (5.63), this assumption does not necessarily hold true. The speaker is informing the addressee who might or might not know the proposition. In any case, the speaker does not expect an answer. Hudson (1975) observed similar use of the tag question among the working class in London, England.

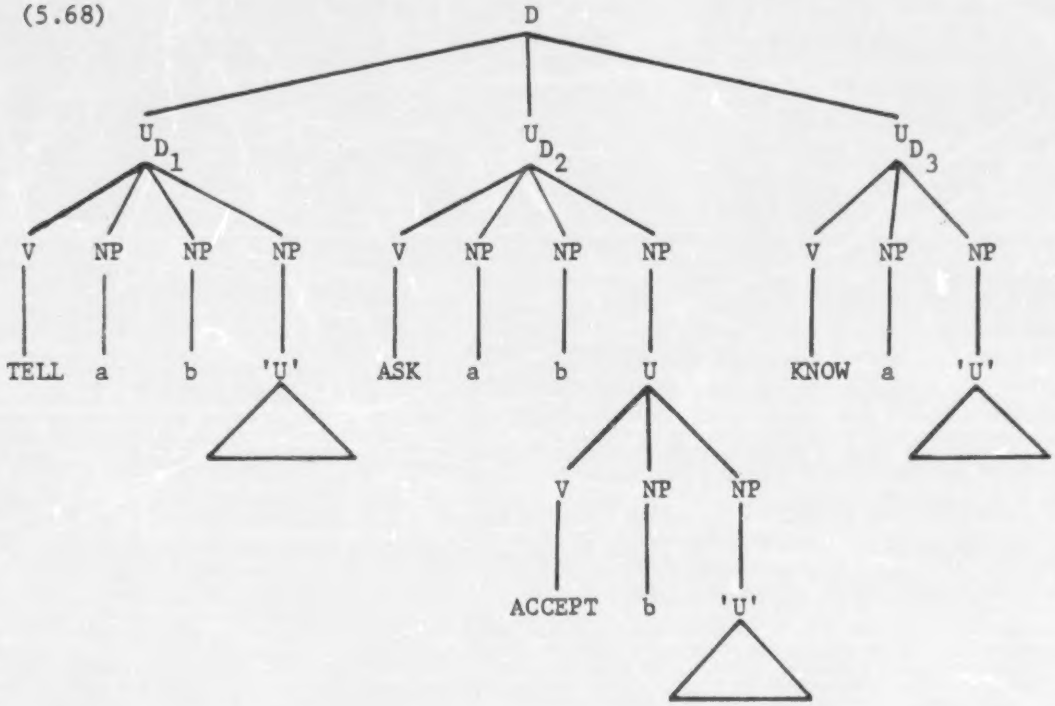
What distinguishes this type of utterance from an ordinary declarative statement? We believe that there are at least two semantic differences. In the tag question 'information given', the speaker:

(i) re-enforces the truth value of the proposition to himself as well as to the addressee;

(ii) further indicates the addressee-directiveness of his statement by marking it as a question--a question usually involves a speaker and addressee.

We shall represent (5.63) as follows in (5.68):

(5.68)


D
U D1
U D2
U D3
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
NP
TELL
a
b
'U'
ASK
a
b
U
KNOW
a
'U'
V
NP
NP
ACCEPT
b
'U'

As in (5.66), on the surface only 'U' of U_{D_1} in (5.68) is retained as a statement and the performative of U_{D_2} as a transformed tag. (5.68) might be paraphrased as in (5.69):

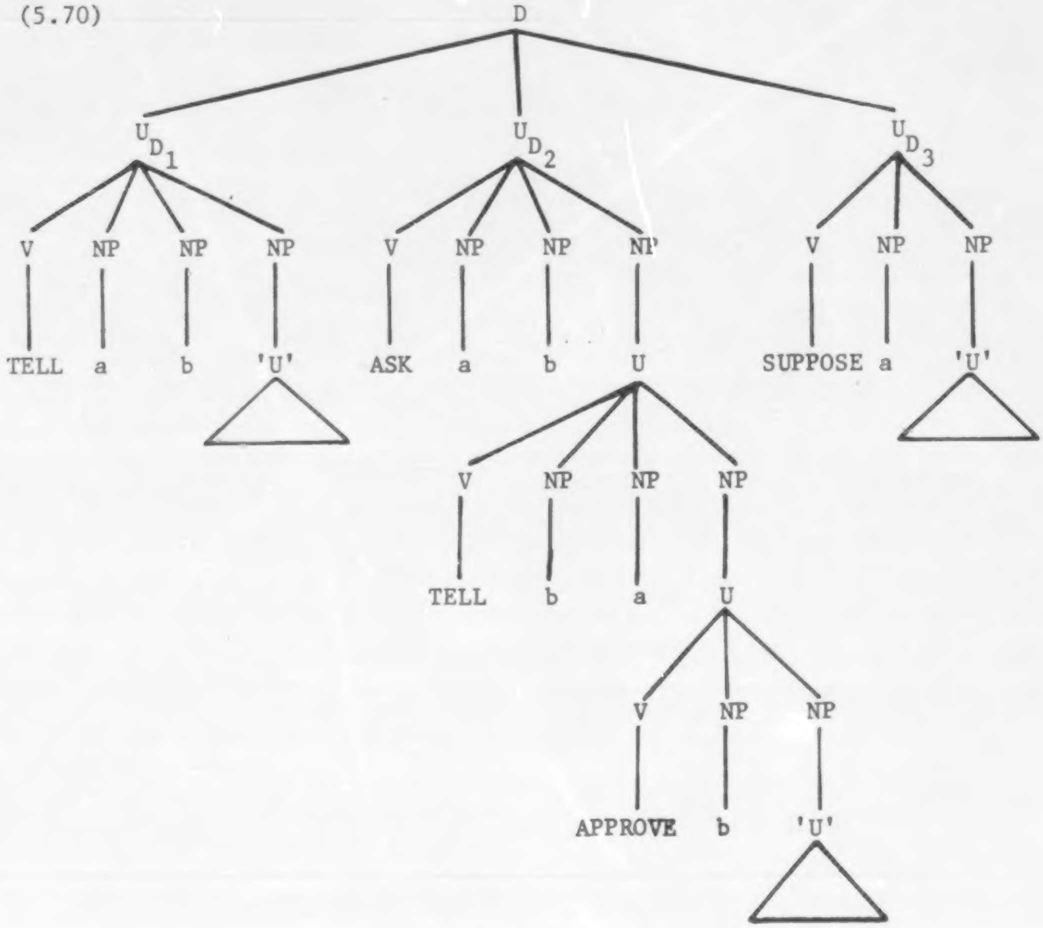
(5.69) I tell you 'U'--I ask you to accept 'U'--I know 'U'.

In tag question (5.62), the proposition is definitely assertive. In (5.68) the assertive force of the proposition is even stronger. Therefore, the embedded performative 'you tell me' is absent. A verbal answer is neither necessary nor desired from the point of view of the speaker. We do not pretend that (5.68) covers all structural complexities[11] such as, for example, the performative reading of the tag in U_{D_2}. Its force is that of a request. Yet in the absence of the information verb 'TELL', we have opted for 'ASK' rather than 'REQUEST'. Thus the reading of a request (command) otherwise remains unambiguously that of a question.

5.3.9.3 Tag Question (5.64): Opinion Requested. In question type 5.3.9.1, it is assumed that both speaker and hearer share some knowledge about the proposition. In tag question 5.3.9.3, it is assumed by the speaker that the addressee is more informed about the proposition than himself; therefore, unlike in 5.3.9.1, the intonation on the tag is rising. The speaker thus requests from the addressee his opinion on the assumed proposition. A simple affirmative answer with the same rising intonation pattern is sufficient. In (5.64 A), the opinion of the answerer is further qualified by a declarative statement. Thus approval on the part of the answerer might be expressed by a simple 'yes', or else by a qualifying statement. It appears that this tag is closely related to the tag 5.3.9.1.

We shall represent tag 'opinion requested' semantically, as in (5.70). The same deletions occur as in the preceding two tag questions. Only 'U' in U_{D_1} and the performative in U_{D_2} are retained on the surface, after transformations have been applied to the latter.

(5.70)


D
U_{D_1}
U_{D_2}
U_{D_3}
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL
a
b
'U'
V
NP
NP
NP
ASK
a
b
U
V
NP
NP
SUPPOSE
a
'U'
V
NP
NP
NP
TELL
b
a
U
V
NP
NP
APPROVE
b
'U'

We can paraphrase (5.70) as (5.71):

(5.71) I tell you 'U'--I ask you to tell me that you approve 'U'--I suppose 'U'.

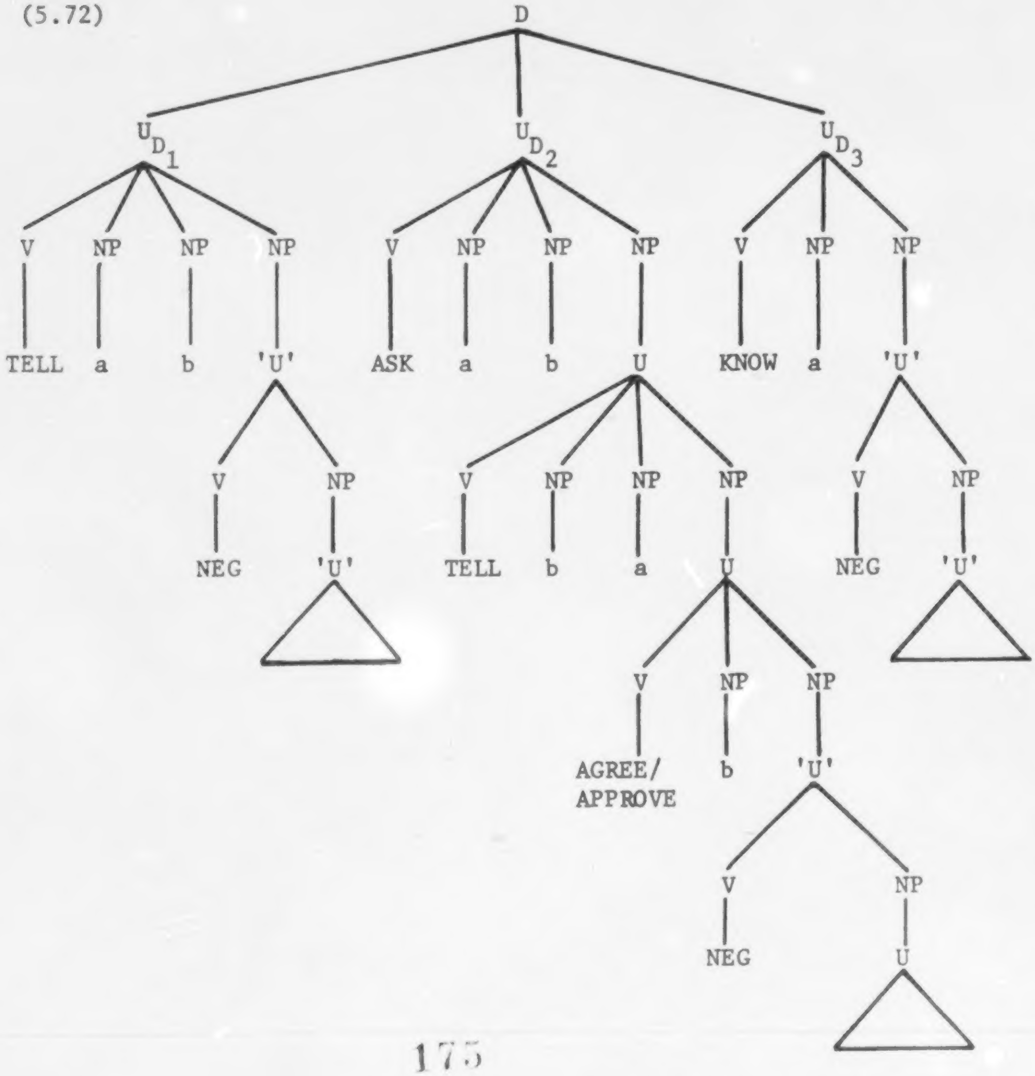
Notice the semantic difference among tag 'agreement requested' in (5.66), tag 'information given' in (5.68), and tag 'opinion requested' in (5.70), with respect to the modality expressed. In (5.66) and (5.68), the proposition is definitely known to be true by the speaker; in (5.70) this is not the case. The tag in (5.66) asks for agreement; in (5.68) for acceptance; and in (5.70) for approval. The declarative utterances in (5.66) and (5.68) are simple statements.

5.3.9.4 Tag Question (5.65): Explanation and/or Agreement Requested. The preceding tag questions all share one overt mark: that of the tag. We now claim that there is another question type that has no overt tag. It is the question introduced by yáh kv 'no' + 'question particle'. We first wondered whether Pope's suggestion (1975) for negative conjuncts might be applied to Mohawk. She proposes that there are two disjunctive question types, the one we described as 'X or not-X', and another one 'not-X or X'. A negative yes-no question in Mohawk thus would be derived from the latter disjunct. In English, such a formulation is possible, because both the 'X or not-X' and the 'not-X or X' questions can be answered by 'yes' or 'no'. Even if the negative disjunctive question is biased toward a negative answer, this is not an obligatory condition.

In Mohawk, however, a negative disjunctive question definitely requests a negative answer. In other words, a Mohawk speaker is uttering a negative yes-no question only if he presupposes the negative bias of the proposition. The questioning takes on the function of a request for agreement from the addressee, plus some further explanation (approval) about the negative aspect of the proposition. The speaker really wants to have some further explanation. He, nonetheless, will content himself with an answer that shows agreement if the addressee, for some reason, is not capable of conveying the desired explanation. If he feels that the addressee could convey some explanation, he will further question him, as in (5.65 Q_2).

In a positive statement, the added tag asks for a positive answer; likewise, in a negative question the answer requested is negative. We thus propose that the underlying representation of *yáh* *kv* questions is that of a tag question, where the negative proposition is known by both speaker and addressee. (5.65) can tentatively be represented by (5.72):

(5.72)


D
U_D1
U_D2
U_D3
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
NP
TELL
a
b
'U'
ASK
a
b
U
KNOW
a
'U'
V
NP
V
NP
NP
NP
V
NP
NEG
'U'
TELL
b
a
U
NEG
'U'
V
NP
NP
AGREE/
APPROVE
b
'U'
V
NP
NEG
U

On the surface, unlike the previous tag questions 5.3.9.1, 2, and 3, here 'U' within U_{D_2} only is retained. The modality still is that of a tag question where, as in 5.3.9.1 and 3, the speaker and hearer share a certain definite knowledge. This can be paraphrased informally, as in (5.73):

(5.73) I tell you 'neg U'--I ask you to tell me that you approve and/or agree with the 'neg' aspect of 'U'--I know 'neg U'.

In (5.65 A_1), the speaker opts for an agreement interpretation of (5.65 Q_1). A repeated yáh kv (5.65 Q_2), a reduced tag question, urges the addressee to futher approve in the form of an explanation (5.65 A_2). The intonation pattern, emphatically raised higher, signals to the addressee the insistence of the speaker's request for an explanation.

Intonation here does indicate a certain meaning difference. Although, on the whole, we have not yet found a dichotomous intonation pattern of tags,[12] as described in Sadock (1974), where a rise in intonation signals a requested opinion, and a fall of intonation a requested confirmation.

Tag question 5.3.9.1, 2, and 3 confirm what has been said elsewhere by Chang (1972), Lakoff (1974), Sadock (1974), Pope (1975), and Hudson (1975). The question type 4 points out a class of questions that act as 'tag' types, although they are not marked overtly in their surface structure. We have shown above that this class of questions--yáh kv questions--can be handled quite well semantically within the discourse frame of the tag question.

In conclusion, we have pointed out how differences of questions can be attributed to normal (unmarked) or marked situations. In an unmarked situation, we have characterized the questions as bearing the illocutionary force of asking for information. In marked situations, the form of interrogative has presented a considerable complexity of modality. We have discussed this level of discourse in terms of performatives and assertions, the latter relating to the propositional content. Semantic representation of questions has only been possible with a consideration of their respective answers. Answers are thus treated as inherently linked to questions.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. WH morpheme has to be understood in this section as a global term that accounts for WH morphemes and/or WH phrases.

2. For example, *ka? niká:yv?* 'which one', is a restricted domain WH phrase, whereas *ka? nú:we* 'which place' is not. There are other WH phrases that are also restrictive, yet to a lesser degree than *ka? niká:yv?*. One of them is *ka? nikahá:wi* 'which time'.

3. The term 'quote' is used here in the sense of repeating not only another person's sayings, but also the speaker's own words. However, direct questions such as those containing an overt performative--as, for example, I ask you again: 'Where is my money purse?'--are excluded because they request an answer from the addressee.

4. This question type has been labelled 'incredulity question' by Cole (1974).

5. Tenses are not represented in our trees. We take no stand as to whether they should be higher predicates or not.

6. We have not intended to specify the presuppositions contained in the trees. The reason is that we have not yet in mind a method powerful enough to isolate presuppositions relative to the speech act and assertions. Notice also the use of 'REQUEST'; it fits better than 'ASK' also in question types 5.3.5.7 and 8.

7. This definition is based on that of Pope's (1975), excluding rhetorical questions that are self-evident to the speaker only.

8. For a more involved discussion of rhetorical questions, see Emily Pope's paper on *Questions and Answers in English* (1975).

9. This is a tag 'information given' question which demands no answer; see 5.3.9.2.

10. *wáhi* alternates with variants *wíhi* and *wi*; differences are due to stylistic and dialect peculiarities. We have found a few utterances where the tag was substituted by the question particle *kv*. We do not think, however, that this formal difference corresponds to a different tag meaning.

11. There are many pragmatic interpretations of this question type, such as a sarcastic or joking remark, to name just two possibilities. At this point, they are outside of the realm of our discussion.

12. Hudson (1975) has neither been able to discover a dichotomous intonation pattern of tag questions in British English.

13. There is one question type which we have not mentioned--the baby language question. In conversations between parents and their 2½ year-old son who was just starting to speak, I overheard the following question-answer exchange:

Father:	Q_1.	úhka? pépi who baby Who is a baby?	Child:	A_1.	pépi baby Baby.
Father:	Q_2.	î:se? kv pépi you Q baby Are you a baby?	Mother:	A_2.	yah no No.
Father:	Q_3.	yah (kv) î:se? pépi thî:kv not (Q) you baby that-one You are not a baby?			
Child:	A_3.	pépi baby Baby.	Mother:	R.	m?m no No.

Several structural particularities set this question type apart from the others:
(i) Syntactically, in Q_1, the common address form 'you' is replaced by a referential noun. The speaker, the child's father, is changing his usual way of addressing some one in accordance to the linguistic competence of the child who refers to himself by the call name 'baby'. Notice also the relatively simple structure of the sentence.
(ii) Prosodically, the tone of the father's voice is higher than usual. Unconsciously, he is imitating his son.
(iii) The discourse pattern is as expected. Question alternates with answer. Yet, unlike ordinary question-answer exchange, the answerer is not always the one addressed. In A_2, the mother is providing the type of answer she would want her son to give. Yet the boy keeps on repeating 'baby' which is not the answer suggested by his mother in A_2 and R, nor by his father in Q_3 as he picks up his wife's intention of letting the child know that he is no longer to be the baby; the parents are expecting another child soon.

We shall not delve into further analysis and representation here, but it is interesting to note how this question type differs from the others.

CHAPTER SIX

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

6.1 Introduction. In the preceding chapters, we have tried to show not only that questions determine answers but also how answers make it possible to account for underlying semantic meanings in questions not otherwise accounted for. For example, a yáh kv question (negative yes-no question), if answered by 'yes' was classified among the whimperatives, if by 'no' among the tag questions. In this chapter, we shall examine how questions relate to answers and vice-versa. We hope to outline a preliminary classification of Mohawk answers to disjunctive and WH questions.

Much of the pertinent work on questions has been done by linguists. Most of the pertinent work on answers in the 1960's and early 1970's has been done by logicians. We shall now briefly name those whose concepts have influenced our choice of the theoretical framework exposed later on.[1]

Katz & Postal (1964) relate WH questions and answers semantically in the sense that answers have the same semantic reading as the questions which they answer. K & P differentiate answers from questions as follows: in the answer, 'the content of Q is not present and the reading associated with X' dominating the deleted scope marker WH 'is supplemented by further semantic material' (p. 90). Such a notion encompasses paraphrases and non-paraphrase related sentences among indefinitely many possible answers to a particular question (p. 114). In other words, each question can have a set of possible answers, categorically defined by X immediately dominating WH. Katz & Postal note, however, that in contrast to WH questions, disjunctive questions may not necessarily have the same type of interpretation. They postulate that the sentence adverbials 'yes' or 'no' in answers to disjunctive questions contain semantic markers that specify the type of semantic alternation, respectively 'X' or 'not-X'. (That is to say, 'yes' corresponds to 'X', and 'no' to 'not-X' of the question disjunct.) However, their 'treatment of the relation between sentence and answer holds for disjunctive questions as well as WH questions (p. 117).

The question-answer relationship has been defined more rigorously in Katz (1968) and subsequently in Katz (1972). Katz has added to K & P's notion of possible answers and evasive answers (repetition of the presupposition), those of rejection (assertion of the falsity of the presupposition in question) (1968), and of confession of ignorance (assertion of the falsity of the questioner's presumption: addressee has the answer) (1972). Katz (1968) also deals with indirect answers as statements that entail a direct answer.

Katz & Postal are probably the first ones to attempt a precise definition of answers in linguistic terms. They are followed by philosophers such as Caton and Garner. Caton (1969), in his article on epistemic qualifiers, introduced some further notions. He argues that a possible answer to 'Is X Y?' is not only 'Yes, X is Y' or 'No, X is not Y', but also any of the following:

(6.1) Possibly X is Y.
Maybe X is Y.
It is likely that X is Y.
I know that X is Y. etc. (p. 20)

Caton claims that these answers are all related to the content of 'X is Y'. He, unlike Katz & Postal, includes in the set of possible answers instances of 'maybe, possibly, likely'. These epistemic qualifiers have been qualified by Katz & Postal as evasions rather than proper answers.

Garner (1969), in a reply to Caton, points out that a distinction has to be made between an answer to a question and a response which is not an answer to a question. He further argues that the distinction to be made cannot be based on the 'content' of the question and answer, 'since it would be wrong ... to treat ... the following as answer to the question "Will you go home?":

(6.2) I refuse to answer whether or not I will go home.' (p. 58)

He would also consider (6.3) as responses to the question 'What time is it?':

(6.3) I just told Bill it was noon.
The sun just came up. etc. (p. 57)

This latter argument is weakened though in his admittance that the above responses in (6.3) still permit the hearer to arrive at an answer. Garner is inclined, nevertheless, to accept (6.4) as an answer to the question 'What time is it?':

(6.4) I believe that it is noon.
I think that it may be noon. (p. 58)

He thereby places himself in opposition to Katz & Postal.

Lang (1970) expands Garner's notion of responses illustrated above in (6.3). He suggests two alternative processes by which the hearer of a response can arrive at the proper answer:

(i) answers can be arrived at by strict logical implication/entailment;

(ii) answers can be arrived at by reference to and knowledge of some facts that are external to the question itself. (p. 197)

He illustrates (6.5) and describes in (6.6) each one of the two points respectively as follows:

(6.5) (i) Q_1. Did many go or (only) few?

A_1. Not many went.

(ii) Q_2. Did you sleep well?

A_2. Man, I was hurting all over.

(6.6) (i) A_1. Not many went BECAUSE few went.

(ii) A_2. I did not sleep well BECAUSE I was hurting all over the place. (p. 198)

He thus postulates a single framework by which to treat these two types of response-answers. This framework is to relate the response to the inferred answer. The relationship between response and its implied answer he calls a 'BECAUSE-relationship' (p. 198).

We basically agree with Lang on this point, but rephrase, for example, (6.6 A_1) as follows:

BECAUSE not many went, I ASSERT that few went.

This reformulation permits us to distinguish the response first introduced by the entailment predicate BECAUSE, and next, its entailed answer introduced by the performative ASSERT. We do not claim, however, that all responses can be explained by the above postulate.

Lang further argues with Caton's view regarding the reading of epistemic qualifiers. He claims that, contrary to Caton, each epistemically qualified answer would have one of the two following readings:

(6.7) (i) I don't know whether X is Y, but possibly it is.

(ii) I don't really want to tell you/feel like telling you. (p. 196)

(6.7) illustrates the first answer in (6.1). Lang himself recognizes that the above two readings do not pertain to epistemic qualifiers--as, e.g. 'certainly'--that do imply the knowledge desired by the questioner.

It becomes evident that Lang opts for Caton and Garner's wider notion of answerhood. These three concur that Katz & Postal's view on evasive answers is too narrow. Lang suggests that, under preconditions as stated in (6.7), the epistemically qualified answers (classified by Katz & Postal as evasive) turn out to be corrections. The answerer thus rejects (corrects) the presupposition held by the questioner that he, the answerer, is in a position to convey the desired knowledge.

Katz (1972) now narrows the domain of evasive answers, by proposing an additional answer type: 'confession of ignorance'. He defines it as Lang partially defines his corrective answer type (see (6.7 i)): as a rejection of the questioner's presumption that the addressee knows the answer. Notice, though, Katz's use of the term 'presumption' as against the term 'presupposition' used by Lang. We shall not further comment on the use of this former term, nor refer to it.

Austin's contribution (1965) has been in the area of the speech act. As questions are linguistic acts of asking, Austin specifies that answers are linguistic acts of answering questions. A performative hypersentence can be postulated:

(6.8) I answer you with 'U'.

The answer is related directly within a discourse frame to the question, to its propositional content on the one hand and to its discourse presuppositions (speech act preconditions) on the other hand.

Labov (1972) has made some valuable observations about speech act preconditions. According to him, there are several preconditions to which questioner and answerer have to refer in order to succeed in their exchange. If applied to answers, we get the following set of preconditions. The answerer (A) must believe that the questioner (Q) believes that:

(i) X needs to be known;
(ii) A has the ability to convey X;
(iii) A has the obligation to convey X;
(iv) Q has the right to ask A to tell X.

A, who appropriately interprets these preconditions in an information question, and answers accordingly, appears to adhere to the following performative (discourse) act:

(6.9) A answers Q with the requested X.

Labov specifies that there are many ways to perform an answer. One device is that of referring to one or several of these preconditions while answering, or while refusing to answer. Labov further points out that discourse rules are of a different nature than the particular propositions asserted or denied. Consequently, the former are independent of the latter. His intention is to link linguistic propositions to speech acts (intended or interpreted), by a set of precondition rules.

In Chapter Four, we have defined a set of discourse presuppositions which are similar in nature to the preconditions of Labov. Their differences lie within their membership. The first component is that of:

(6.10) (i) shared knowledge (also mentioned elsewhere by Labov, p. 122);

then the components that are unshared by A and Q are:

(ii) knowledge possessed;
(iii) power to convey knowledge (Labov: 'ability');
(iv) motivation to convey knowledge (Labov: 'obligation');
(v) the social context that authorizes exchange of questions and answers.

In the following section, we shall refer to these discourse presuppositions in order to explain the scale of answers in Mohawk as proposed partially by Katz & Postal (1964), Lang (1970), Katz (1972), Churchill (1973), and Pope (1975). Whenever these discourse rules are non-relevant, we shall intervene either with a linguistic explanation, or an extralinguistic one if possible. Yet, we shall limit ourselves to a minimum of extralinguistic commentaries since the following section deals more extensively with these.

6.2 Classification of Answers. We shall adhere to the following conventions:

(i) if an answer to a yes-no question is prefixed by 'yes' or 'no', it will be considered semantically as a possible answer;

(ii) if an answer not marked overtly by 'yes' or 'no' contains part of the proposition under question, it is interpreted as a possible answer;

(iii) if an answer is marked non-verbally as a yes-no answer by gestures, for instance, it is interpreted as a possible answer;

(iv) if some unknown constituent (paraphrased or not) is given in an answer that corresponds to the syntactic and semantic category of the WH constituent in the question, it will be considered as a possible answer;

(v) if part of the unknown WH constituent under question is given, it will be considered as a possible answer;

(vi) if an addition to the answers (i) or (iv) differs syntactically or semantically from the constituent requested, it will be considered as a modification of the possible answer as discussed in 6.1.

We now suggest the following preliminary classification of Mohawk answers found in everyday conversations at Kanesatake, and in school conversations at St. Regis.

1. Possible Answers (Katz, 1972) 'A possible answer has all the characteristics of an answer except for possibly being false ... True possible answers are correct answers. Accordingly, the notion of a possible answer is that of a sentence (or the statement it expresses) that would satisfy the request for information if it were true ... A possible answer provides information beyond what is contained in the meaning of the questioned constituent' (p. 211-12). We shall subdivide this category into:

(i) direct answers (Lang) are syntactically and semantically defined by the question and must fulfill the required conditions as stated above in (i), (iii), and (iv); this includes paraphrases;

(ii) additions (Lang: 'complete answers') imply or express the direct answer as well as some additional information;

(iii) partial answers (Lang) imply the direct answer and fulfill conditions stated above in (ii), and (v).

2. Evasion (Katz & Postal)

(i) Verbally (Katz; Lang) an evasive answer repeats the presupposition of the question without supplying any new semantic content;

(ii) Non-verbally (Churchill) an evasive answer is comprised of an emotional response, e.g. laugh.

3. Corrective Answer (Lang)--negates the presupposition (6.10 i to v) underlying the question, and implicitly corrects it.

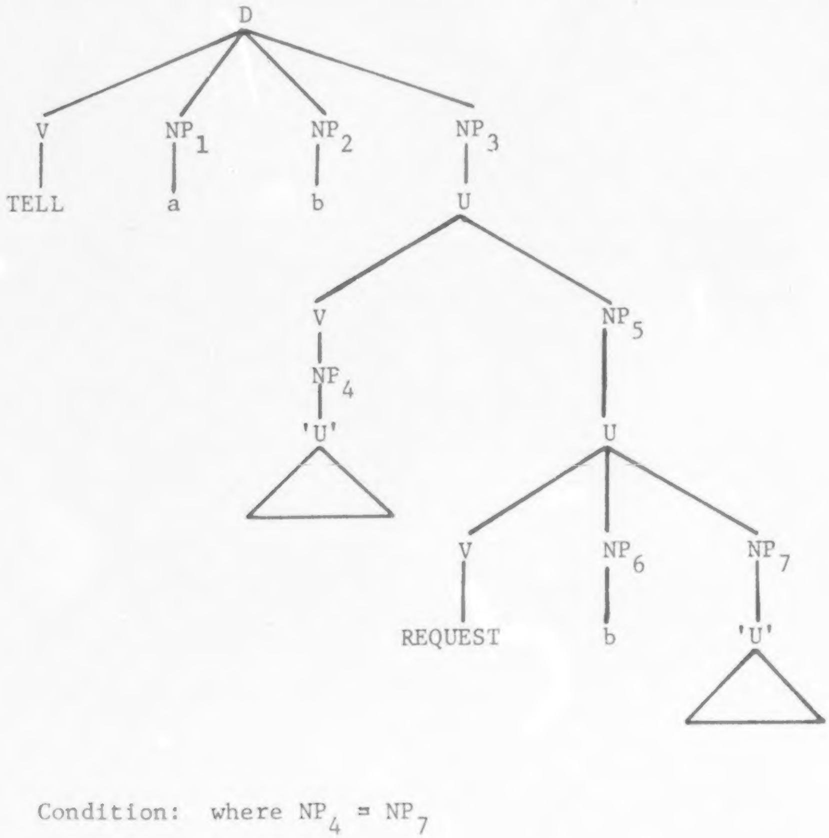
4. Confession of Ignorance (Katz, 1972)--rejects the presupposition in the question that the answer is known by the addressee.

5. Reply as Answer (Lang)--implies a direct answer; it can be explained only from within its sociolinguistic context.

6. Incorrect Answer--implies rejection of the given information by the answerer himself, by the questioner or by a third party.

6.2.1 Possible Answers. A great number of the question-answer pairs found in Mohawk conversations are marked by answers that are either direct, or completed by further additions. The performative underlying these answers can be paraphrased and then represented as follows:

(6.11) I tell you the 'U' which you are requesting.



Condition: where $NP_4 = NP_7$

We have opted for this superhypersentence in the face of the fact that Mohawk has no translation equivalent for answering. This performative is present in every answer, distinguishing answers from statements not intended as answers. On the surface, it is usually deleted. However, in some instances, the highest predicate 'TELL' is retained.

Syntactico-semantic criteria shall be enlarged upon under this heading, since the presuppositions are respected by the answerer. Yes-no questions are more elaborated than WH questions in the following section.

6.2.1.1 Direct Answers. Disjunctive (yes-no) and WH questions take direct answers. Let us look first at yes-no, and then at WH questions. All yes-no questions may be answered by hv, ya, hm 'yes', or yah 'no'.

Yes-No Questions

'yes'

(6.12) Q. yakota?karí:te (kv)
she-is-healthy (Q)
Is she healthy?

A. hv yakota?karí:te
yes she-is-healthy
Yes, she is healthy.

(6.13) Q. su?wéskwani kv tsi tho nú kwatesíteru
you-like-it Q that there PRT-place you-are-living
Do you like living over there?

(6.13) A. hv
yes
Yes, (I like living over there).

(6.14) Q. komohró:nu (kv)
Como-native (Q)
Is she a native of Como?

A. ya komohró:nu
yes Como-native
Yes, she is a native of Como.

(6.15) Q. kayv?kwáku (kv)
tobacco-is-good (Q)
Is the tobacco good?

A. hm
yes
Yes, (the tobacco is good).

'no'

(6.16) Q. yah tetsutshókwas wáhi
not she-is-smoking TAG
She isn't smoking, is she?

A. yah tetsutshókwas
not she-is-smoking
(No), she isn't smoking.

(6.17) Q. yáh kv tehsetshv́:nis kátkek ahsatatasnéra?ke
not Q you-are-afraid some-time you-would-'harm-yourself-accidentally'
Aren't you afraid that you would accidentally harm yourself someday?

A. yah
no
No, (I am not afraid that I would accidentally harm myself someday).

(6.18) Q. kahurasátste kv ne nahó:tv?
gun-is-strong Q NOM PRT-?-is-(a)-kind
Is that kind a strong gun?

A. yah
no
No, (that kind is not a strong gun).

(6.19) Q. shé:ku kv o?wá:ru, terés
still Q meat , Theresa
(Do you) still (want some more) meat, Theresa?

A. shakes head sideways
(No, I don't want any more meat.)

In (6.12) to (6.15), the yes-no questions are answered by 'yes'. Notice the variant forms for yes: hv (6.12) and (6.13), ya (6.14), and hm (6.15). hv is the Mohawk equivalent for 'yes'. ya is a loan word, as well as komo in (6.13). The latter might explain the choice of the former.

hm is a 'least effort' type of affirmative expression. The answerer smokes his pipe as he utters hm in (6.15).

In (6.16) to (6.19), the questions are answered with yah 'no'. Notice that the questions in (6.16) and (6.17) demand a negative agreement answer (Pope, 1973: 482). They have been previously discussed under the heading of tag questions. (6.18) and (6.19) contain instead a negative disagreement answer. We are evidently stating here the semantic qualities of answers in terms of Pope (1973, 1975). A non-verbal negative disagreement answer has been exemplified in (6.19), since it was interpreted appropriately and accepted by the questioner. There are instances where 'yes' or 'no' are not used by the answerer. The positive or negative restating of the proposition in question will imply the type of answer. For example, in (6.20) affirmation is implied in the answer.

(6.20) Q. wesaterihukóhta (kv)
you-'got-fed-up' (Q)
Did you get fed up?

A. ukaterihukóhta
I-'got-fed-up'
(Yes), I got fed up.

In an elliptic answer, it appears that most often the constituent under focus is repeated, (6.21):

(6.21) Q. yetyvté:ri (kv) sakîho
you-know-him (Q) Sakiho
Do you know Sakiho?

(6.21)	A.	hv	sakího
		yes	Sakiho

Yes, (I know) Sakiho.

(6.22)	Q.	yu?wé:sv	(kv)	ne	ukwehuwenéha	yuhrúkha
		it-is-nice	(Q)	NOM	native-people's way	they-speak-it

It's nice they speak in Indian?

	A.	hv	yu?wé:sv
		yes	it-is-nice

Yes, it is nice.

In (6.21) the object is overtly asserted, in (6.22) the predicate.

WH Questions WH questions take on adverbial and pronominal answers. These answers usually convey the requested unknown information while the known information is omitted:

(6.23)	Q.	to	nithó:yu	ne	satshé:nv
		how	PRT-he-is-old	NOM	your-animal

How old is your animal?

	A.	tyóhtu	niwahní:take
		nine	PRT-month

Nine months.

(6.24)	Q.	ka?	nú	tsi	ní:wa	ne	kv́	thí
		which	PRT-place	that	PRT-about	NOM	DUB	that-one

Where abouts is that place?

(6.24) A. tsi yotená:tate [2]
that at-'village-end'
At the end of the village.

(6.25) Q. úhka? thí
who that-one
Who is it?

A. rósi
Rose
Rose.

For more examples, see Chapters Three and Five. In the above examples, we have illustrated a frequent phenomenon in answers: that of information reduction. Occasionally, however, information is not reduced as in (6.26):

(6.26) Q. to nityakɔ́:yu
how PRT-she-is-old
How old is she?

A. tyóhtu niwáhsv v́ska nityakó:yu
nine PRT-ten one PRT-she-is-old
She is 91 (years) old.

Under possible answers, we have found several examples that are direct answers yet given by the questioner himself. The answer needs confirmation--either of a verbal or non-verbal nature. In (6.27), the Speaker 1 is not completely sure about his assumed answer. Therefore he seeks for confirmation of the propositional content.

(6.27)

Speaker 1:

Q. to kati ná:?a ní:ku ó:nv thi
how then maybe PRT-it-is-amount now that-one
How much then will they now

ashunetáhko
they-'take-out'
get out of it?

A. tékeni tewv?nyáwe (táhnu) kv oyé:ri
two hundred (and) DUB ten
Two hundred and ten, isn't it?

Speaker 2:

R. ó?tsta tsi wé:so ashunetáhko
scab that much they-'take-out'
Heck, that much they will get out of it.

6.2.1.2 Additions. There are answer types that have a completing answer incorporated into the direct answer; there are other answer types where an addition follows the direct answer. (The examples for this section will not be divided into yes-no answers and WH answers.)

Addition Incorporated

(6.28) Q. káti kv sahrúkha o?seruni?kéha
then Q you-speak-it in-French
Then do you speak French?

A. yah thé tekahrúkha
not thing I-speak-it
No, I don't speak it.

(6.29) Q. sateri?wayv́:sta (kv)
you-learn-matter (Q)
Do you go to school?

A. yah ní:?i
not NOM-I (learn-matter)
Not me. (I don't go to school.)

Addition Added

(6.30) Q. ka? ne nukwá tseyá?tare?
which NOM PRT-it-is-beside person-is-included
To which side does your

nesasótha
NOM-your-grandmother
grandmother belong?

A. yah káneka sótsi ó:nv yakoksthv́:ha yah tetseyá:kvs
not where too-much now she-is-aged not she-goes-out
Nowhere, she is too old now; she cannot go out.

(6.31) Q. thénu kv né:?e shakoyé:nas ó:ni
any-thing Q CLFT he-catches-it too
Does he also catch anything?

A. hv , ráuha sv́ha é:so shakoyé:nas tsi ní:?i
yes, him more much he-catches-it than PRT-I
Yes, he catches much more

ní:yot
PRT-it-is-like
than me.

(6.28) and (6.29) have additional information incorporated into the direct answer. In (6.28), 'French' is referred to as 'thing' and in (6.29), the pronominal referent has been restated. (6.29) turns into a slight correction. (6.30) and (6.31) give additional information after the affirmative or negative answer has been stated. The answerer in (6.30) qualifies, in addition, his adverbial answer. Yet, in doing so, he implies that the proposition underlying the requested constituent was a false one. Thus again his answer turns into a slight correction.

In (6.31), the assertive answer is also followed by some additional information that in this case modifies the type of proposition asserted. The answerer suggests implicitly a moderate correction of the proposition that would read as follows: 'He catches much more than you'. This example could be classified as either an addition or a correction.

6.2.1.3 Partial Answers. It seems that in Mohawk, partial answers are not very frequent. This might be due to the fact that the category is not clearly defined, or then that it is redundant. These answer types might best be handled under the heading of corrections, or possibly replies, as seen by the following examples.

(6.32) Speaker 1 jokingly asks the friends he is visiting to guess how heavy he is. The dialogue following this challenge question is cited below.

Speaker 2:

A.	níkv	v́ska	tewv?nyáwe	tyóhtu	niwáhsv
	PRT-'it-might-be'	one	hundred	nine	PRT-ten

Maybe one hundred and ninety.

(6.32)

Speaker 1:

R. v́ska tewv?nyáwe tyóhtu niwáhsv
one hundred nine PRT-ten
One hundred and ninety.

Speaker 2:

Q. tós kv
'it-is-true' Q
Is it true?

Speaker 1: (partial answer)

A. tékeni tewv?nyáwe táhnu kayé:ri (laughter)
two hundred and four
(No, I don't mean that--I really mean) two hundred and four.

(6.33) Q. tsakútyu kv
she-loses-again Q
Did she miscarry again?

A. nekki nú:wak nv́skak
just NOM-only-now NOM-only-once
(No, she did not miscarry again) she miscarried only once.

6.2.2 Evasion. An interesting aspect about verbal evasive answers in Mohawk is their acceptability on the one hand, and their unacceptability on the other hand. We shall exemplify firstly the acceptable answers.

Acceptable Evasion The presupposed constituent 'somewhere' in (6.34 Q) is repeated in the answer. The answerer thus confirms the shared knowledge, but rejects the presupposition (6.10 ii) that the requested information is known by him.

(6.34) Q.

ka?	nú	tsi	ní:wa
which	PRT-place	that	PRT-about

Where abouts is it?

A.

kak	nú	thí:kv
some	PRT-place	that-one

That one is somewhere.

In Mohawk, such a question is treated as a possible answer, in spite of its missing requirements. We still classify it among evasive ones because of its presuppositional content. This compromise makes us wonder if the suggested categories for answers could be subject to language particular conventions. We shall illustrate this category by another example.

(6.35)

Speaker 1:

Q.

nahó:tv?	wíhi	vtení:ru?
PRT- ? -is-(a)-kind	TAG	we-shall-say-it

What indeed shall we say?

Speaker 2:

A_1. hv

yes

Yes (we shall say something).

(6.35)

Speaker 1:

A_2. hm
yes
Yes (we shall).

Again, as in (6.34), the answerer confirms the underlying proposition, rather than responding with the requested new information in (6.35). This answer might be a correction. The questioner who accepts the response implicitly accepts the correction: 'You believe that I possess the new information--I correct you--I do not really possess it'. Identical examples are listed in 5.8, where the 'why' whimperative question's underlying proposition is confirmed as above. Still we believe that answers in (6.34) and (6.35) for Mohawk speakers are possible answers.

This rather frequent occurrence of such answer types and their acceptability suggests to us that the criterion of acceptability is a decisive factor in the comprehension of the Mohawk answer system. This criterion, we think, relates also to the sincerity condition of a speaker. If a speaker is believed to be sincere in his answer, it then is approved of as being acceptable.[3]

Unacceptable Evasion Other evasive answers, however, are not acceptable. We shall illustrate this non-acceptable answer type by both a *non-verbal* evasion and a *verbal* one.

(6.36) Q. ká?tke eh náhsyere?
when such PRT-you-did-it
When did you do that?

(6.36) A. (an embarrassed laugh)

The teacher wants to know when the student had committed a certain act. The student's emotional reaction suggests that he confirms the proposition: 'You did it sometime'. He does not intend to convey the answer (6.10 iv) because of the social context (6.10 v). The teacher considers his answer insincere and, therefore, continues questioning him.

(6.37)

Speaker 1:

Q.	nahó:tv?	ahshnekí:ra?	terés
	PRT-?-is-(a)-kind	you-would-drink-liquid	Theresa

What will you drink, Theresa,

tí	kátu	káfi
tea	or	coffee

tea or coffee?

Speaker 2:

A_1.	kwá	tsik	kawvoní:yo	nahó:tv?
	definitely	regardless	word-is-good	PRT-?-is-(a)-kind

Anything is all right.

Speaker 1:

R.	akwéku	onú:ta? ...
	all	milk ...

(You want) all milk? ... (teasing)

Speaker 2:

A_2.	tí
	tea

Tea.

The response (6.37 R) to the first (evasive) answer (A_1) indicates that the answer is not accepted by Speaker 1. Speaker 2's sincerity is questioned in a teasing manner. We might conclude by saying that evasive answers are perceived by Mohawk speakers as acceptable or unacceptable as in (6.37).

6.2.3 Corrective Answers. Many answers in Mohawk are corrective. Recourse is taken to such answers whenever there is a misunderstanding between questioner and answerer. The corrections may take on the following forms.

(6.38) (i) I don't share your knowledge--you presuppose that we both possess the same knowledge (6.10 i) and I hereby correct you.

(ii) I don't possess the knowledge--you presuppose that I know the answer to your question and I hereby correct you (6.10 ii), (Lang, p. 212).

(iii) I cannot tell you X--you presuppose that I have the power to convey the answer X and I hereby correct you (6.10 iii).

(iv) I don't intend to tell you X--you presuppose that I have the motivation to answer your question and I hereby correct you (6.10 iv, v).

(v) I have to correct the propositional content of your question--certain facts in your question I believe are wrong--I rephrase my answer in a way that you can deduce the type of question to be answered.

(6.38 i - iv) usually are acceptable as 'answers' even though they do not satisfy all the discourse preconditions. (6.38 v) addresses itself to the content of a question. We shall now illustrate each of the above correction types.

6.2.3.1 Correction of Shared Knowledge. The question in (6.39) is ambiguous in two ways. Native speakers share this knowledge about the question. One meaning refers to a person not yet of school age, and the other to a person of any age. The discourse context, however, clearly indicates which one of the two meanings underlies the particular question: 'The one (child) staying at home is the only one not yet of school age'.

(6.39)
Teacher:

Q.	kátu	nek	akauhá:?a	tyéteru ,	tseyá:ta	kok	kv
	or	just	she-alone	she-is-stahing,	one-person	only	TAG

Or is she the only one not of school age, eh?

Student:

A.	táhnu	ake?nistv́ha
	and	my-mother

And my mother.

A Mohawk speaker recognizes within a particular context, the appropriate reading of an ambiguous question such as in (6.39). Yet, the student in (6.39 A) does not seem to recognize this conventional interpretation, or else he rejects it by giving it a literal reading. There are possibly two reasons for such a response: (i) the student does not share the knowledge of this conventional type of interpretation (6.38 i); and/or (ii) the student has no other younger sister or brother living at home that is not yet of school age. Therefore, he rejects the school age type of interpretation and answers with the literal one (6.38 v). Only the social context will solve this latter ambiguity.

(6.40) Q. (oh) na?akoyá:tawv ne déysi
(WH) PRT-it-happened-to-her-body NOM Daisy
What happened to Daisy?

A/Q. déysi (kv)
Daisy (Q)
Daisy?

The answerer in (6.40) rejects the presupposition that she herself and the questioner both know, in differing degrees, that something happened to Daisy. In answering by a question, she implicitly corrects the questioner (6.38 i) and explicitly requests further specification of what she is supposed to convey. The questioner appropriately interpreted the request and restated her question in more explicit terms in (6.33). The first question in (6.40) is a typical Mohawk way of inquiring casually and politely about certain facts a speaker is not quite certain about. The questioner, as in (6.40), seemingly gives to the addressee the choice of answering with any topic which she is inclined to reveal. In actual fact, the questioner is interested in one particular topic. She assumes the addressee knows this topic and will thus relate it. The questioner in some instances might be right in his assumptions. In other instances, he might be mistaken.

6.2.3.2 Correction of Possession of Knowledge. Many corrective answers fall into this category. The answerer in (6.41) implies that she is not capable of confirming the questioner's statement, since she does not know the truth value of the proposition concerned. She thus corrects the questioner politely in admitting that she does not know for certain if the third person's mother is alive but she might be. In reality, she did not know it at all.[4] However, her intuitions were very close to the actual fact.

(6.41)	Q.	yako?nistv́shv	wîhi	
		she-has-her mother	TAG	

She still has her mother, hasn't she?

A.	khére	kv	hv	yoko?nistv́shv
	maybe	DUB	yes	she-has-her-mother

Maybe she still has her mother.

(6.42)	Q.	to	nî:ku	tsi	ruwáhsere
		how	PRT-it-is-amount	that	they-pursue-him

How much are they pursuing him for (the accident)?

A.	kátu	tóka	úhte	kak	nú	tsá:ta	tewv?nyáwe
	or	perhaps	I-think	some	PRT-place	seven	hundred

(or) Perhaps I think somewhere about seven hundred.

Again in (6.42), the answerer cannot convey the expected precise answer. His corrective statement suggests the following question to be asked:

(6.43) Q. Somewhere about how much does it seem they are pursuing him for?

Both of the answers have been accepted by the questioner as satisfactory. In other words, the corrections have been approved by the questioner.

6.2.3.3 Correction of Power to Convey Knowledge. We have found these types mostly in classroom conversation. The students know the answer in (6.44) and (6.45), but they are incapable of conveying them correctly in Mohawk.

(6.44)

Teacher:

Q. nahó:tv? vhsí:ru?
PRT-?-is-(a)-thing you-will-say-it
What are you going to say?

Student 1:

A$_1$. (silence)

Teacher:

A$_2$. rak
he-(to)-me
My

Student 1:

A$_3$. raksá:?a (laughter in class)
little-boy
A little boy.

Teacher:

C.* yah
no
No.

---

*C stands for correction.

(6.44)

Student 2:

A_4. raktsí:?a
my-little-brother
My little brother.

(6.45)

Teacher:

Q. nahó:tv? ki
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind this-one
What is this?

Student:

A. tsíks (everyone laughs)
fly
A fly.

Teacher:

C.[*] tsiktsinv́:nawv
'butterfly'
A butterfly.

The laughter of their fellow students confirms the fact that the students have given a wrong answer. In answering incorrectly, they correct the teacher's presupposition: 'I cannot tell you the answer--you presuppose that I have the power to convey it in Mohawk, but I hereby correct you'. The students seem to lack a certain linguistic competence in Mohawk. In (6.44), there might also be the possibility that Student 1 misunderstood the question. Both interpretations are possible. In order to make the right choice, we need to possess extralinguistic knowledge about the boy's linguistic capabilities, the classroom situation, etc. Notice that both answers are not accepted by the teacher. The teacher obviously knew the answers to the questions. This implies that the function of the question in each case was not, as usual, a request for new knowledge. The knowledge of the student was tested instead. Here we touch again on a sociolinguistic feature, the function of questions and the way in which they influence question-answer exchanges.

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[*] C stands for correction.

6.2.3.4 Correction of Motivation to Convey Knowledge.

In both (6.46) and (6.47) the questioner presupposes a 'yes' or 'no' answer and he had to be corrected. Both answerers are not inclined to respond as requested.

(6.46) Q. í:se? kv wa?tesú:ko
you Q you-hit-it
Did you hit it? (the microphone)

A. (silence)

(6.47) Q. tehonatyéstu ne ratihnará:kv táhnu
they-mix-themselves NOM they-are-white-kin and
Do they mix among themselves, the white people and

ukwehú:we
native-people
the Indians?

A. yah ki akwé só:tsi
not but all too-much
(Yes), but not too much.

The answerer in (6.47) does not intend to respond either positively or negatively. He is willing, nevertheless, to reply with a degree response. The answerer in (6.46) does not want to confirm that he hit the microphone because of the class situation. This was an embarrassing question. By not answering, he rejects the question which is really an accusation, and corrects the teacher's presupposition that the addressee wants to respond. Both answers, verbal or non-verbal, were acceptable to the questioner.

6.2.3.5 Correction of Propositional Content.

(6.48) Q.

oh	né:?e	ní:yot	ne	rake?níha	ne
WH	CLFT	PRT-it-is-like	NOM	my-father	NOM

In what way is it that on my father' side

kv	nukwá	stoká?a	routateko?okú:?a
here	PRT-side	truly	they-are-siblings

they (your father and my father) are truly sibling to each other?

A.

yáhtv	ake?nistv́ha	tóka	kv	né:?e	ne	ya?níha
no-indeed	my-mother	I-think	DUB	CLFT	NOM	your-father

No, it was my mother, I think, that was married

ro?nihkáha	rotinyako?ú:ne?
his-deceased-father	they-'got-married'

to your father's deceased father (grandfather).

The answerer seems at first to reject the complete propositional content of the question, (6.48). Yet, he then goes on to specify the constituents to be corrected. His answer might suggest the following corrected question:

(6.49) In what way is it that your mother and my father's deceased
father are truly siblings?

6.2.4 Confession of Ignorance. This answer type we have separated from the corrective one, since its occurrence is very frequent and its meaning finalizes the question-answer exchange on the particular subject under discussion.

(6.50) Q. ka? ne terés
where NOM Theresa
Where is Theresa?

A. tó:ka
'I-don't-know'
I don't know.

(6.51) Q. to ne nityakó:yu ne su
how NOM PRT-she-is-old NOM Sue
How old is Sue?

A. tó:ka
'I-don't-know'
I don't know.

The answerer responds not to the content of the question, but to one of the questioner's presuppositions. In (6.50), the answerer claims ignorance in respect to the expected knowledge (6.10 ii). The answerer in (6.51) might also reject the question on the basis of any of the other presuppositions (6.10 iii - v): 'Either I am not capable/I don't want to tell you, or the social context inhibits me from telling you the requested answer'. In any case, the answerer always pretends to be ignorant with respect to a presupposed knowledge supposedly in his possession.

6.2.5 Replies to Answers. We have pointed out previously that replies imply direct answers.

(6.52) Q. ti (kv)
tea (Q)
(Do you want) tea?

A. yah tewakateryv́:tare oh nátyere
not I-know-it WH PRT-I-should-do-it
I don't know what I should do.

(6.53) Q. ukwá:ti (kv) akenawí:ra
I-lost-it (Q) my-teeth
Did I lose my teeth?

A. yah teyohnekihsá:ku
not one-searches-for-liquid
You don't need to get drunk.

These type of answers are used quite frequently in everyday conversations. They are not paraphrases of direct answers. Yet, many of them are accepted. This implies that there is a mechanism that allows the addressee to deduce direct answers from replies. We have pointed out one possible mechanism in 6.1 by Lang. In this section, we shall limit ourselves to two replies that can be explained only within the framework of a particular social situation. The reply in (6.52) presupposes that the answerer shares the knowledge with the questioner (host) that the tea pot is empty. New tea will have to be prepared. Questioner and answerer know also that the wife of the addressee has rejected the offer. The answerer's hesitation can be interpreted as follows: 'Yes, I want tea but I don't want you to prepare tea for me alone; therefore, I don't know what to do.' The host correctly interprets the answer and prepares some more tea.

A direct answer to the reply in (6.53) can be deduced as follows from the social context and knowledge about some cultural factors: the questioner is talking without teeth; he is not drunk. When you are drunk you do stupid things. Losing teeth (for instance) is a stupid thing. 'You do not need to get drunk in order to do such a stupid thing as to lose your teeth--I tell you as requested that you lost your teeth.'

6.2.6 Incorrect Answers. This answer type is closely related to the answer type in 6.2.3.5 where the propositional content of the question is corrected. In the latter, the answerer corrects the presupposition held by the questioner. In the former, correction of the propositional content of the answer is corrected either by the answerer himself, by the questioner, or by a third party.

6.2.6.1 Self-Imposed Correction. In (6.54), the answerer corrects himself. She is correcting the informational content of her answer. The correction is self-imposed.

(6.54) Q.

tsi	nú	niyé:teru	akí:ru
where	PRT-place	PRT-she-lives	I-would-say-it

Where is the place

yakotauhá:nu	tsi	nú	niyé:teru
she-boards	where	PRT-place	PRT-she-lives

where she is staying?

A.

ne	ki	né:?e	rakuháhwha	ne	kvnyehrá?a
NOM	this-one	CLFT	he-youngest	NOM	my-smallest-brother-in-law

The youngest of my brothers-in-law

yah	ne	tekenílhatu	kvnyehrá?a	sakího
no	NOM	second-youngest	my-smallest-brother-in-law	Sakiho

no, the second youngest of my brothers-in-law Sakiho,

ne	ki	ethó	nú	niyé:teru	asvnáhsu
NOM	this-one	there	PRT-place	PRT-she-lives	at-'Centre-Road'

that's where she is living--

ki

this-one

at the Centre Road.

6.2.6.2 Correction Imposed by the Questioner. The teacher is correcting the student's answer in (6.55).

(6.55)

Teacher:

Q.	nahó:tv?	káti	kv	ne	ahsí:ru?
	PRT-?-is-(a)-thing	then	Q	NOM	you-would-say-it

What would you say then (if this one sitting here were a little girl)?

Student:

A$_1$. eksá:?a
little-girl
A little girl.

Teacher:

R$_1$. yah
no
No.

Student:

A$_2$. raksá:?a
little-boy
A little boy.

Teacher:

R$_2$. khe ...
I-(to)-her
My ...

Student:

A$_3$. khe?kv́:?a
my-little-sister
My little sister.

Again the proposition is rejected by the questioner, who is familiar with the correct answer. This straightforward, explicit type of correction in

(6.55) is typical of testing situations. Without knowledge of the social situation, and rôles of participants, to name a few social criteria, it is impossible to explain certain types of questions (marked ones) and certain types of answers. We shall talk more about interrelationships between social and linguistic constituents in the next section of this paper.

6.2.6.3 Correction Imposed by a Third Party. The wife corrects her husband in (6.56):

(6.56)	Q.	to	ní:wa	thi	yonuhsawv́:?te
		how	PRT-it-is-big	that-one	their-house-addition'
		How big is their house addition?			

Husband:

A_1.	ne	kwí	thí:kv ...
	NOM	definitely	that-one ...
	It is that ...		

Wife:

A_2.	yah	sakího	akwé	ráhawe	ne	yah	tekowá:nv
	not	Sakiho	all	he-is-holding	NOM	not	it-is-big
	No, Sakiho, all the place he has is not big.						

The answer is judged--this time not from the questioner's point of view but from a third party's--as incorrect; correction is inflicted upon the answerer and, along with it, interference. This latter phenomenon is rather rare in Mohawk.[5] Unless there can be added a joking remark, or a word pun, people normally await their turn to speak in Mohawk conversations.

These last three correction types differ from the preceding answer types on the basis of the rôle relationship between questioner and answerer. In usual question-answer situations, the speaker who asks a question presupposes that the answerer alone has the knowledge and the intent to relate unknown information. He thus conveys the authority of informing to the answerer. Yet, the answerer might sometimes reject the authority given to him by the questioner, implicitly stating that he does not believe he has the authority to respond. If he chooses to answer in this case, he is only apparently assuming his authority. Whereas, in the last three correction instances, the authority of informing is, at first, given to him by others, but then is annulled either by the answerer himself or by the others.

We conclude from this chapter that answers can be systematized in terms of their discourse presuppositions. This has thus been a preliminary attempt to capture some of the presuppositional traits that link answers to their questions. We have also seen that social constituents interrelate with presuppositional ones. Answers cannot be adequately described without taking social criteria into consideration, e.g. acceptable vs. unacceptable evasion. The next section endeavors to focus on social aspects within the discourse analysis of Mohawk questions and answers in use.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Keenan & Hull (1973) limit the domain of answers as follows: 'We shall consider a logical answer to a question to be a response to it which supplies the information requested'. Such a definition is too narrow and, therefore, nonfunctional as an analytic framework for our data. Another definition of answers that we consider too broad, for example, is that of Alice Davison (1975). She proposes 'four kinds of satisfactory answers: (i) agreement, (ii) refusal, (iii) explanation of why the request cannot or will not be complied with, and (iv) compliance'.

2. On the surface, locative answers are signalled by the locative suffixes -ku 'in', -ke 'at', -oku 'under', and -akta 'near', in noun phrases; or the locative prefix ye- in verbs unambiguously signalling some kind of location. Yet often, they are omitted as in (6.24 A), if there is no contextual ambiguity as to where the requested element in the answer refers to.

3. Acceptability, in Chomskian terminology, is based on the intuition of the individual. Acceptability, within conversation, is based on shared values (or knowledge) within the speech community. Take, for example, our answer in (6.34), that is believed to be sincere because it has already passed the test of shared values, and so is acceptable.

4. To add a little bit of a personal flavour to this example, the two conversants were talking about my own mother. My personal consultant, the answerer, informed the other person about my mother, and how far she was living from the area, without really knowing the facts. I have to admit that her intuition was quite accurate.

5. In all my question-answer material, I have found only two instances where the speaker was interrupted by another person.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TOWARDS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF QUESTION AND ANSWER USAGE

7.1 Introduction. Language cannot be fully explained outside of communication situations. Consider the following example. In a discussion about an accident caused by a snow plow, a hearer wanted to know:

(7.1)	ka?	nú	tsi	ní:wa
	which	PRT-place	that	PRT-about

Where abouts is it?

The answer was:

(7.2)	kak	nú:we	thí:kv
	some	PRT-place	that-one

It is somewhere.

A gesture with the chin indicated the direction in which the answerer assumed the accident to have taken place.

Now imagine a family table conversation. One of the children enters the kitchen crying. He has obviously hurt himself. The father carefully inspects the child's hand while asking (7.1). The child replies in pointing at his bruised finger.

In the first instance, the addressee appropriately interpreted (7.1) as a request for verbal information. In uttering (7.2) and pointing in the assumed direction, the answerer replies in an acceptable way, though with an indirect answer. In the second instance, the addressee appropriately interpreted (7.1) as a request for an action: 'Show me where you hurt your hand'. The answerer thus shows where he got hurt.

These two illustrations clearly exemplify how questions tend to be polysemic and therefore ambiguous, by taking on different meanings in different social contexts. It follows that an extralinguistic context has to be coupled with a linguistic one, if the meaning of certain question and answer pairs is to be rendered clear and unambiguous.

This we have pointed out in the chapter on discourse: a descriptive frame is chosen that is sensitive to discourse contexts of linguistic and extralinguistic nature. But also repeatedly within the chapter on marked question types, reference has been made to particular situational contexts. Notice, to choose one example from many, that the heading of 'quiz questions' points to a particular setting. In the chapter on answers, replies were judged as acceptable under certain social conditions, whereas under other conditions, they were unacceptable; (see, e.g. evasions).

What we are saying then, is that the analysis of our data has been oriented in the previous chapters (Four to Six) within a 'socially realistic linguistics' (Hymes, 1972). In other words, questions and answers have been considered as valid and, therefore, analyzable because of their actual occurrence within a real speech situation. Other linguists, Labov, R. Lakoff, and Fillmore to name a few, have committed themselves to such an orientation. In the last part of this study, we shall align ourselves within a 'socially constituent linguistics' as termed by Hymes (1972: 4). This type of linguistics is 'concerned with social as well as referential (linguistic) meaning, and with language as part of communicative conduct and social action ... This being so, an adequate approach must begin by identifying social functions, and discover the ways in which linguistic features are selected and grouped together to serve them.' (1972: 2).

Patterns now looked for will be sociolinguistic in nature where linguistic (referential) meaning is viewed as intrinsically linked to the social one. Hymes defines the latter in the following terms: 'the two main facets of "social" meaning can be identified as interpersonal and textual, following Halliday (1970) ... That is, the facets of meaning involved with nonlinguistic context (the participants in the speech act and their interaction in that setting), on the one hand, the facets involved with the linguistic context, on the other.' (1972: 24).

The context (linguistic and extralinguistic) provides the speaker and addressee with basic meaning signals that will enable them to understand each other's questions and answers. A contextual approach has been advocated by Kjolseth (1972). He, however, argues against maintaining a dichotomy between linguistic and extralinguistic context as it relates to the understanding of conversations. He postulates that language is co-sustaining with context, and vice versa. Each one depends upon the other to be understood. We agree with Kjolseth that a dialectical approach to language is misleading. Our aim is that of a unified theory of conversational behaviour. Yet, at the present, this is not possible; we have to limit ourselves to at least a preliminary dichotomy.

Can we truly comprehend the complex nature of question and answer usage in Mohawk, without having first inquired into its linguistic shape and meaning? We postulate not. However, if the analysis was to stop at the linguistic level, then the understanding of the discourse would be restricted and inadequate. A discourse-oriented approach eventually has to take into consideration extralinguistic context, or 'social meaning' as termed by Hymes, and ultimately, meaning as a unified discipline.

R. Lakoff confirms with us a context-sensitive approach to language: 'What we are dealing with here is something extralinguistic--the way in which individuals relate to one another--that directly affects the use of language. We must understand something about nonlinguistic social interaction before we can see the generalization that is in effect regulating the use of sentences.' (R. Lakoff, 1972: 910).

In this study, we are concerned about the way in which context is necessary for the interpretation of questions and their answers. We are also concerned about the way in which the use of questions affects 'non-linguistic social interaction' (R. Lakoff, ibid.). Hence, it will be stressed that the social context, on the one hand, affects the use and interpretation of language and, on the other, depends upon the use of language.

7.2 Methodology. So far we have established the fact that language and social context are interdependent. It follows that meaning is of linguistic and social nature. Meaning properties of questions and answers that refer to their social functions now have to be isolated.

There have been a number of discussions on the concept of functions.[1] Jakobson (1960) perceived functions as an inherent linguistic property of the act of communication, as does Hymes (1969: 6) who claims to have been greatly influenced by Jakobson' functional approach. Firth (1935) and Malinowski's view of function (1935) was the social value of the speech act. For others such as Skinner (1957), for example, the function of interaction was viewed from a psychological point of view; so likewise for Ervin-Tripp (1971). In spite of Skinnerian influence, Ervin-Tripp defines functions in social rather than psychological terms. She states 'that intent or function is part of the constellation of social features out of which interaction is generated' (P. 244).

The speaker uttering question (7.1), for example, intends to produce a certain effect upon the hearer. The function of the utterance (7.1) is accomplished by means of the addressee's recognition of this intention; (see also Grice (1975), e.g. the conveying of the requested information as in (7.2)). The corollary of this is that the speech act of inquiring has intents as its input. We shall use from now on functions in the sense of intents. The term function will, therefore, have a rather restrictive meaning in this paper. We shall identify these functions in terms of a set of functional categories, and then examine their realizations in everyday and school conversations.

However function, as defined above, is only one aspect of social meaning. It is related to, and dependent upon, other social features. Their interdependence plays an important part in the understanding of questions. Verbal interaction inevitably is characterized by certain social features such as the type of setting and the participants in the setting. This we have illustrated in the differential use of question (7.1): two different settings result in two different interpretations of (7.1). There are different ways of representing such social features. Halliday (1964, 1973) proposed a threefold analysis of the social context in terms of field, mode, and tenor. The field corresponds to the ongoing activity (setting and end), the mode to the rhetorical channel, and the tenor to the rôle relationships among participants. A more detailed descriptive model has been developed by Dell Hymes (1964, 1967, 1971, 1972), generally known as the Ethnography of Speaking. In order to capture the patterns relating social context to speech variation, he set up an heuristic paradigm of categorical features which we may summarize as (i) setting, (ii) participants, (iii) ends (intent and effect), (iv) act sequence (message form and topic), (v) key (manner and tone), (vi) instrumentalities (channel and code), (vii) norms of interaction (specific behaviours), and (vii) genres (types of speech acts, e.g. conversation, curse, etc.). Structured relationships between two or more of these categorical features result in rules of speaking. We can informally formulate the following rule of speaking in respect to question (7.1): the presence of at least two participants (ii), within a certain setting (i), for certain ends (iii). This rule applies to conversations 'in general'. (For a particular rule, the more powerful, the more apt it is to capture a more general pattern.) In a poetic speech, however, the message form and topic (iv), as well as the channel (vi), would have to be added to the setting (i) and ends (iii). The feature of participants (ii) would be less significant, and therefore, omitted.

Dell Hymes claims that his approach is thus structural on the one hand, and functional on the other: the selection (structuration) of certain categorical features, as against others, determines the particular functions to be performed. In (7.1) for instance, the rule of speaking is restricted to a particular conversational act--that of inquiring. Inquiring serves the function of asking for new information in the first situation, and in the other, it serves the function of asking for an action.

The problem is now to know what theoretical validity to ascribe to such a descriptive frame, its categorical features, and the rules and functions their interrelationships entail. It seems to us that Hymes is utterly correct in attributing a taxonomic validity to his descriptive model rather than a theoretical one. Further data thus will have to be empirically tested in order to refine and define more precisely--omitting overlaps and redundancy--concepts that shall lead ultimately to theoretical and universal grounds within the ethnography of speaking.[2]

Methodologically, Dell Hymes' heuristic paradigm of categorical features has been of special value as a contribution to empirically oriented research on the use of speech. The once insurmountable domain of social context has become more accessible through the narrowing of its scope in terms of features. In this paper, we shall draw from Hymes' paradigm some social features that seem to pertain particularly to questions and answers in conversations, such as setting and participants. The topic, though pertinent, is outside the scope of this research. The feature 'ends', because of its imprecise and overlapping definition, has been omitted. Instead, intents are treated as functions in the sense of Ervin-Tripp. Functions, when necessary, shall also be stated in Hymes' terms of relations among features. We shall see that one does not exclude the other. Hymes' definition is thus complementary to that of Ervin-Tripp. If functions are indeed 'part of the constellation of social features' (Ervin-Tripp), the functions can be just as much a product of the social features, as the social features can be affected by functions.

This next section is an attempt to describe in sociolinguistic terms how Mohawk people use questions and answers within their community, in the classroom, and outside of the classroom. Our particular focus of interest is the classroom conversation, with reference to everyday conversations, in order to capture major differences between a marked situation--that of the classroom--and the unmarked one--that outside of the classroom.

7.3 Implications of a Functional Analysis. Conversation is motivated verbal interaction. All questions (and answers) hence are motivated. This implies that questions have underlying intents which we are calling functions as explained previously. From a grammatical viewpoint, questions come under one particular sentence type (interrogative) and answers under another (declarative). In actual performance, there does not exist such a simple one-to-one relationship. A question may take on different social meanings. One single sentence type is thus made to serve a number of different functions. Take, for example, the utterance: 'Would you close the door?'. In a child-directed conversation, this interrogative functions as an irrevocable command for action. In an adult-directed conversation, it functions as a request for action that can, however, be politely refused. If we want to interpret Mohawk questions appropriately we have to relate them to their 'much larger set of actions' (Labov, p. 121) that they accomplish, or to their functions.

The way we **see** rules as relevant to our present discussion is within the context of the discourse. Previously, within the scope of discourse analysis, some rules have been described in terms of discourse presuppositions. We shall enlarge this concept. Henceforth, within the realm of sociolinguistic analysis, **discourse presuppositions shall also be taken into consideration.**

In the previous text, for example, 'shared knowledge' is one of the discourse presuppositions referred to. We postulate that shared knowledge is also presupposed within the scope of sociolinguistic interaction. What we really say then, is that underlying functions of questions are assumed by the speaker to be known and understood by the addressee. If the knowledge is truly shared, an appropriate interpretation will be possible and a resultant answer that is context-sensitive in nature will be probable. Whenever a question is uttered the answerer hence will have to select intuitively from among the possible functions the one that he assumes to motivate the act of inquiring in that particular situation. In answering appropriately, he thereby acknowledges and confirms the function that is presupposed by the questioner to be known by both the questioner and the answerer. In answering inappropriately, the answerer proves, of course, that the questioner in his assumption has been wrong.

What are these functions then that are mutually known by speakers within a Mohawk community? As a first step in answer to this question, an heuristic paradigm of functions will have to be established. Functions change with time lapses and between cultures. Therefore, this paradigm is open to modifications in the future. It is based upon the empirical analysis of a large set of different questions and their answers in everyday conversations in Kanesatake, and during school classes at St. Regis. Answers, if accepted, serve as a guideline for the identification of functions presupposedly known by questioner and answerer.

What are the criteria by which functions are correctly used and interpreted within a conversation? This question will have to be answered in relation to different situation features. In this paper, we shall limit ourselves to two settings. As for participants, we shall refer to them when necessary, but not in a systematic fashion.

7.4 Functions Within Everyday Conversations. The questions we have observed in everyday conversations seem to fall into the following seven functional categories.

1. Request for information
2. Request for confirmation
3. Request for (a) further explanation and/or (b) further conversation
4. Request for repetition
5. Request for (a) action and/or (b) change of action
6. Request for delay
7. Request for a permitting action

The order of the above functions represents their relative frequency, ranging from the most frequent to the least frequent one. Notice how the performative verb 'request'[3] relates functions to the syntactic utterance type (interrogative) that they underlie. We shall now examine briefly each one of the seven functions.

7.4.1 Function I: Request for Information. Most of the questions observed in everyday conversations (about 67.0%) fall into this first category. They ask either for new information as in the case of WH questions (46.4%) and conditional WH questions (1.9%--for examples, see 5.3.3), or they ask for information that is of assertive or negative nature as in the case of disjunctive questions (51.7%). For the relative frequency of the above question types, see Fig. 7.1 on the following page.

There was one difficulty that we observed with certain disjunctive questions. When asserted, their function seemed to be of a twofold nature: to seek affirmation as well as confirmation, (7.6 Q_2). Within a certain discourse context, it is as if the questioner is more certain than not of the assertive value of the proposition he seemingly questions. In such instances, both functions appear to be asked for--affirmation and confirmation--with the latter taking on the rôle of a primary function. It follows that the functional content of these questions thus varies in degrees within different discourse settings.

(7.3) Q. to úhte nityakó:yu thí:kv
how I-wonder PRT-she-is-old that-one
I wonder how old she is?

FIGURE 7.1 Everyday Conversation

Function I: Request for Information.

DSJ	51.7%
WH	46.4%
CND	1.9%

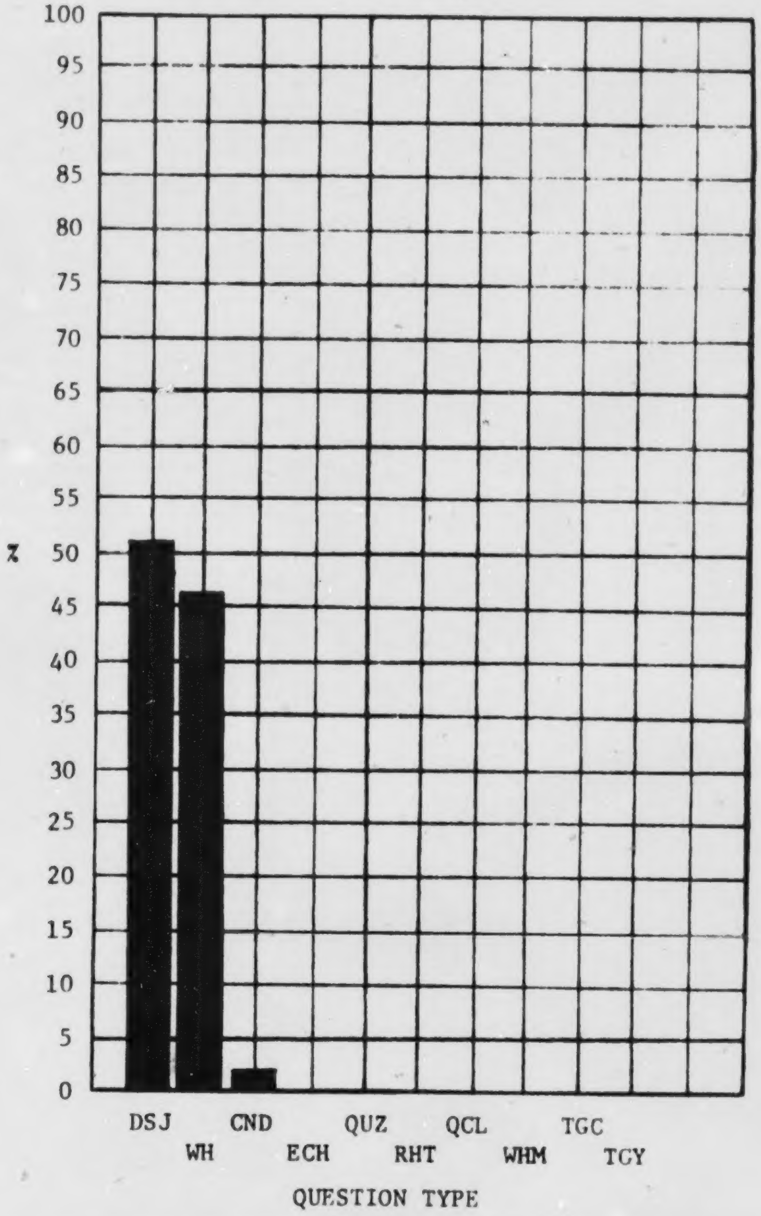

Fig. 7.1 shows the distribution of question types within Function I, which accounts for 67.0% of the total number of everyday questions.

(7.3) A. áhsv niwáhsv áhsv
three PRT-ten three
Thirty three.

(7.4) Q. skáhawe? kv
she-is-holding-it Q
Is she pregnant?

A. yah
no
No.

(7.5) Q. tóka vshatya?tará:ko ne ya?níha úhka? káti
if he-himself-will-leave NOM your-father who then
If your father is going to leave, who then

ó:nv tvshá:ta?ne
now he-again-'stands-up'
will now take his place?

A. tó:ka
'I-don't-know'
I don't know.

(7.6)
Speaker 1:
Q_1. wa?ká:ru kv ne kv́?v tsohké:ri wisk tewv?nyáwe
she-said~~-it~~ Q NOM I-think Tsohkeri five hundred
Didn't Tsohkeri maybe say that ...

(7.6)

Speaker 1:

... Q_1. thi ruwáhsere?
that-one they-pursue-him
they pursue him for five hundred (dollars)?

Speaker 2:

Q_2. nek kv ne tsi tekatáhsta vhakárya?ke
just Q NOM that bus-station he-will-pay-it
He will only pay the bus station that much?

Speaker 1:

A. hv
yes
Yes.

7.4.2 Function II: Request for Confirmation. Among the utterances we classified as questions, 16.2% function as requests for confirmation. The most frequent were (i) tag questions (7.7) - (7.10); the less frequent were (ii) disjunctive questions, (iii) queclaratives, (iv) rhetorical, and (v) echo questions; see Fig. 7.2 on the following page. However, there is the possibility that in actual fact, confirmation is asked for much more frequently and this in the form of certain tags. We noticed that every so often, the tag wáhi--as described in 5.3.9.2--occurs in utterances where a verbal answer is not really expected, (7.12). The tag is used as an interactional signal signifying the awareness of the presence of at least one addressee and his participation desired in the form of a confirmative nodding with his head, for example, which is appreciated but not mandatory.[4] Most of these tags we have not counted. There-

FIGURE 7.2 Everyday Conversation

Function II: Request for Confirmation.

DSJ	21.4%
ECH	4.8%
RHT	7.1%
QCL	14.3%
TGC	26.2%
TGY	26.2%

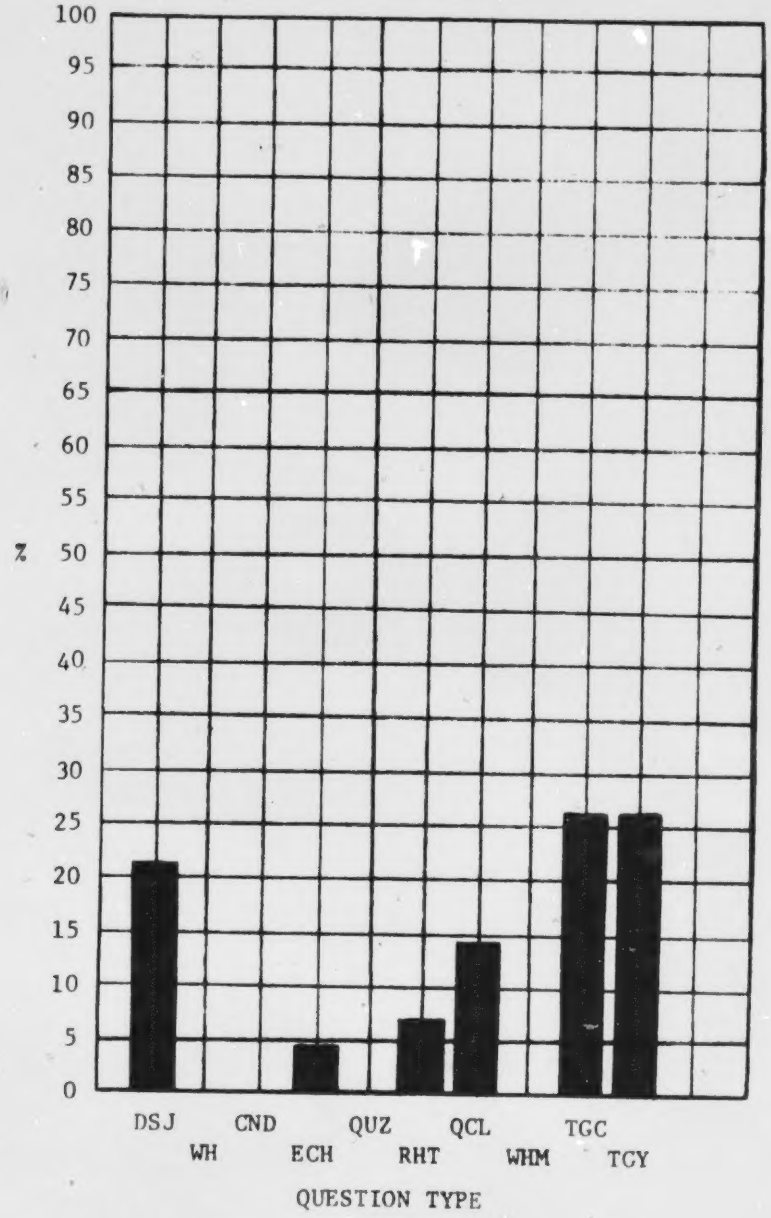

Fig. 7.2 shows the distribution of question types within Function II, which accounts for 16.2% of the total number of everyday questions.

fore, the frequency percentage is only representative of tag types 5.3.9.1, 3, and 4. Tag type 2 is illustrated only below. Yet usually it has not been counted.

7.4.2.1 Tag Questions. Tag question types 5.3.9.1 and 2 may ask respectively for verbal (7.7), or non-verbal (7.8) confirmation. The non-verbal response weakens the function of confirming to the point where it could be replaced by a descriptively more adequate label--that of acknowledging. For the time being, the margin between confirmation and acknowledgement is not defined clearly enough to justify separating them into two different categories.

(7.7) Q. ronatewirará?kwv wi thi
they-kept-baby TAG that-one
They adopted the baby, didn't they?

A. hv , ronatewirará?kwv thi
yes, they-kept-baby that-one
Yes, they adopted him.

(7.8) Q. rauhwatv́?a ki? wáhi
nis-nephew definitely TAG
It's his nephew, isn't it?

The yáh kv tag question 5.3.9.4 is often used as a request for negative confirmation, where a minimal answer yah 'no' is acceptable.

(7.9)	Q.	yah	káti	kv	né:?e	teyetsiya?tya?tará:ni	ne
		not	then	Q	CLFT	he-joins-you	NOM

Isn't he joining you,

samatv́:t	ne	ró:ne
your-'my-aunt'	NOM	her-husband

your aunt's husband?

A. yah
no
No.

(7.10)	Q.	yáh	kv	ne	teyahwéskwani	né:?e
		not	Q	NOM	she-likes-it	CLFT

She doesn't like that? (having her fortune told)

A.	yah	né:?e	teyakauwéskwani	ne	tékets	
	not	CLFT	she-likes-it	NOM	the-cards	(fortune cards)

She doesn't like her cards (read).

7.4.2.2 Disjunctive Questions. In certain situations, a yes-no question takes on the function of a request for confirmation, as previously mentioned. We note here again that confirmation inevitably entails assertion. In (7.11) the questioner had just been informed about the addressee's age. He remarks:

(7.11)	Q.	ó:nv	káti	kv	áhsv	niwáhsv	sha?té:ku	tesohseriyá:ku
		now	then	Q	three	PRT-ten	eight	you-are-years-old

Then you are now thirty-eight years old?

(7.11) A. khê:re káti kv
maybe then DUB
I guess so. (hesitant)

7.4.2.3 Queclarative Questions. These request assertion, yet more so confirmation, by the answerer. Confirmation thus seems to entail assertion.

(7.12) Q. káti nutyé:rv tsi wahɔ́ryo nihukstv́ha
then PRT-it-is-(a)-matter that he-beat-him PRT-he-is-old
Then why did he beat him--he is old?

A. ne kwî ká:tu
NOM definitely I-say
That's what I say.

7.4.2.4 Rhetorical Questions. They do not require an answer as described in 6.2.1. Often, their propositional content is acknowledged or confirmed by the addressee, as in (7.13). If there is absence of an answer, it is to be concluded that the addressee agrees with the presuppositions and the proposition underlying the question. His silence, therefore, is to be interpreted as a confirmation.

(7.13)
Speaker 1:
Q_1. káti na? nyvtsá:wv?ne
then supposedly PRT-it-will-happen
Then what will happen?

(7.13)

Speaker 1:

Q_2. nyvtsá:wv?ne oh ní:yot yah teyakonú:tv?s
PRT-it-will-happen WH PRT-it-is-like not she-feeds-milk
What will happen if she does not feed milk

onú:ta? ne akoya?okú:?a
milk NOM her-children
to her children?

A. hv
yes
Yes.

7.4.2.5 Echo Questions. Echo questions expressing surprise or doubt may function as confirmation requests.

(7.14) St. ó:nv tho natáhsawe
now there they-started
Now they have started.

Q. ó:nv kv
now Q
Now?

A. hv
yes
Yes.

7.4.3 Function III: Request for (a) Further Explanation, and/or (b) Further Conversation. The majority of the (i) tag questions count in this category, and a few (ii) queclaratives, (iii) echo questions, and (iv) yes-no questions;[5] see Fig. 7.3 on the following page. Its frequency is that of 9.2% overall. This category seems to be rather closely

FIGURE 7.3 Everyday Conversation

Function III: Request for Further Explanation and/or Further Conversation.

DSJ	4.2%
ECH	4.2%
QCL	12.4%
TGY	79.2%

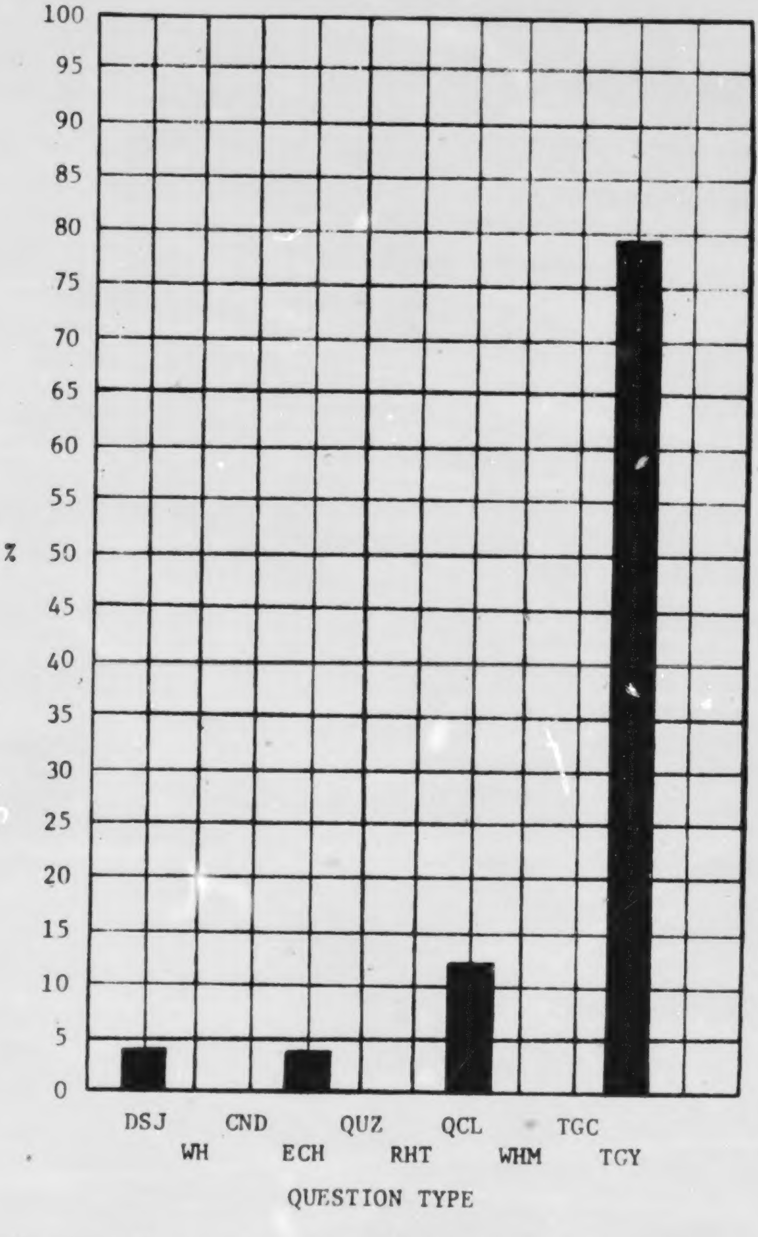

Fig. 7.3 shows the distribution of question types within Function III, which accounts for 9.2% of the total number of everyday questions.

related to Function II. Both might be members of the same category. We have treated them under separate headings for the reason of co-occurrence conditions. Function II can co-occur with Functions III (a) as in (7.16 Q_1), (7.17), and (7.18); or (a) and (b) as in (7.15); if Function II has been asked for in the previous question (7.16 Q_1), its co-occurrence with Function III (a) and/or (b) is not acceptable.

7.4.3.1 Tag Questions. wáhi tag question 5.3.9.3 belongs in this functional category, as well as those yáh kv tag questions that do not ask for confirmation alone. In some situations, either the former or the latter were used for the purpose of obtaining further explanation, Function III (a). In other instances, the latter, when used, were motivated by a further intent, that of inviting the addressee in a polite way to keep the conversation going, Function III (b). Function III (a) might or might not imply Function III (b). The latter Function, though, always entails the former. In (7.15), Function III (a) is implied:

(7.15) Q. yako?nistv́?sha wíhi
she-has-her-mother TAG
She has her mother, doesn't she?

A. kéhre kv yoko?nistv́?sha í:nu kiné:?e niyó:re
maybe DUB she-has-her-mother far quite PRT-it-is-far
Maybe she has her mother; she lives quite a

tyé:teru
she-lives
far distance away.

In (7.16)--Tag type 5.3.9.4--Q_1 implies Function III (a), and Q_2 implies Function III (b). My consultant converses with her son who is not very talkative. The questioner repeated *yáh* *kv* 'no eh?' until finally she succeeded in drawing her son into conversation.[6]

(7.16)

Speaker 1:

St. yah ki? nú:wa káneka thá:ke?
not but now nowhere I-go
But I am not going anywhere right now.

Speaker 2:

Q_1. yáh kv
no Q
No, eh?

Speaker 1:

A_1. yah
no
No.

Speaker 2:

Q_2. yáh kv (emphatically raised intonation)
no Q
No, eh?

Speaker 1:

A_2. yah í:kehre? nú:wa vkatoríshv
no I-want now I-will-rest
No, I want to have a rest now.

It should be noted that when yáh kv 'no eh?' is used once, a confirmational one-word answer yah 'no' (but not hv 'yes') is acceptable. When yáh kv is used again, further conversation, and with it, further explanation is expected in (7.16).

7.4.3.2 Queclarative Questions. The queclarative (7.17) demands confirmation and further explanation. Confirmation is given by one answerer and further explanation by another.

(7.17) Q.

yah	ni	nek	té:kv	tsi	ní:yot	tsi
not	only	just	that-one	that	PRT-it-is-like	that

It is not only that--the marriage vows;

ahuwvnatervnayv́:hahse	nutyé:rv	tsi	yah
they-will-pray-over-them	PRT-it-is-(a)-matter	that	not

why don't they

tehuwé:yahre
they-remember-it

remember?

A$_1$.

hv
yes

Yes.

A$_2$.

né	ki	thi	ohné:ka	eh	nikayérha	ne
NOM	this-one	that-one	liquor	that	PRT-does-it	NOM

So it is the alcohol that is doing that--

thi	akwéku	tekayerúnyus
that-one	all	it-'mixes-up'

that it mixes every one up.

(7.17) A_3. hv
yes
Yes.

7.4.3.3 Echo Questions. The questioner in (7.18 EQ) expresses surprise about the propositional content of the preceding utterance. His intent is to get confirmation and, if possible, further commentary on the constituent in question. In (7.18) his intents are satisfied by the answerer.

(7.18)
Speaker 1:
Q. thó ne kv ná:?a thî:kv wisk yawv́:re nikahwîstake
there NOM Q maybe that-one five ten PRT-dollar
Wasn't it then fifteen dollars

wahaná:to , wisk yawv́:re wasako?tyerú?kwa
he-charged-it, five ten he-would-take-them
that he charged--fifteen to take them there?

Speaker 2:
EQ. wisk yawv́:re (kv)
five ten (Q)
Fifteen?

Speaker 1:
A. wisk yawv́:re sakîho táhnu yakwateno?sohokú:?a thî:kv
five ten Sakiho and our-other-siblings that-one
Fifteen (dollars) for Sakiho and our other siblings.

7.4.3.4 Yes-No Questions. The questioner in (7.19) asks for an explanation of the suggestion made by the preceding speaker:

(7.19)

Speaker 1:

St. oyórha?ne tyó:karahwe sateró:rok
tomorrow night you-watch-it
Tomorrow night you watch (channel two).

Speaker 2:

Q. ya (kv) (rising intonation)
yes (Q)
Really?

Speaker 1:

A. kakarí:yos ...
it-is-nice-story ...
There is a nice story on ...

7.4.4 Function IV: Request for Repetition.

Our data contained WH questions with a 3.8% frequency whose function was that of asking for repetition, such as in (7.20); see Fig. 7.4 on the following page. Often when, for example, nahó:tv? 'what' appears as a one-word question following an answer or any type of statement, its function is that of a request for repetition. This can be true for other one-word questions, such as to 'how (much)' in (7.20 Q_R). Usually, this function implies that the questioner has not at all or only partially understood the answer. In (7.20) however, the questioner understood the answer. Since (7.20 A_1) is given by another person than the one requested, his request for repetition

FIGURE 7.4 Everyday Conversation

Function IV: Request for Repetition.

WH 100.0%

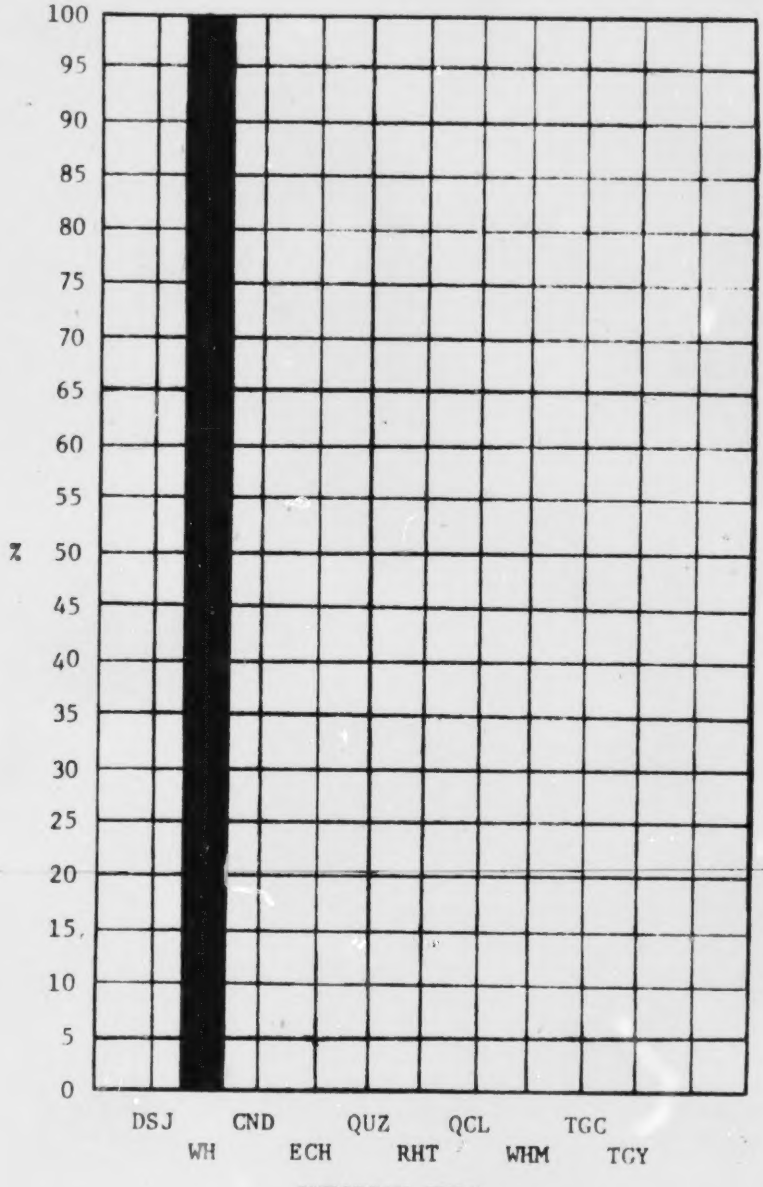

Fig. 7.4 shows the distribution of question types within Function IV, which accounts for 3.8% of the total number of everyday questions.

implies rejection of A_1 rather than lack of uncerstanding. Once the condition of 'X and only X is the next one to speak' is respected, the answer is accepted (7.20 A_2).

(7.20)

Speaker 1:

Q_1. máma, to nikanó:ru
Mama, how PRT-it-is-priced
Mama, how expensive is it? (the mattress)

Speaker 2:

A_1. tsi ní?* niká:yv? wakhní:nu wisk niwáhsv
that NOM-I PRT-it-is-(a)-kind I-bought-it five PRT-ten
The one I bought is fifty (dollars).

Speaker 1:

Q_R. to
how
How (much)?

Speaker 3:

A_2. wisk niwáhsv nikahwístake
five PRT-ten PRT-dollar
Fifty dollars.

In different situations, this function has different functions underlying it. In (7.20) the function underlying Function IV, the request for repetition, is that of rejection. It appears then that functions occur in layers, differing in degrees of abstractions. At this stage of the

---

[*] ní? is a contracted form for ne í:?i 'NOM I'.

research, the various layers of functions will have to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. In (7.21) and (7.22), the function underlying Function IV is that of aiding the questioner to enter the topic of discussion which he had not followed for various reasons. For instance, in each of (7.21) and (7.22), the questioner was previously involved in a different conversation. This latter function evidently entails Function IV but not vice versa. It seems also to be evident that Function IV is realized in Mohawk uniquely by unmarked WH questions.

In (7.21) the questioner has carried on a different conversation with another man. He hears the women discussing another person. Repetition of certain information is asked, with the intent of joining the conversation being held among the women. A possible answer is given by one of the women, and with it, his acceptance is confirmed as a new participant within the ongoing discussion.

(7.21) Q. úhka?
who
Who?

A. tyú:n
June
June.

In (7.22) we have an example where this function of repetition is not limited to one-word questions. Here, it is one of the women who, while conversing with her equals, overhears the men discussing some people involved in a certain type of action. She requests repetition and with it, the permission to enter the discussion group.

(7.22) Q. úhka? ne ki:
who NOM this-one
Who is this?

A. ne kwí né:?e ratihnará:kv
NOM definitely CLFT they-are-white-skinned
That is the white people.

7.4.5 Function V: Request for (a) Action, and/or (b) Change of Action. A small 2.6% of question in our data take on the function of a request for action or change of action; see Fig. 7.5 on the following page. The request for (a) action is introduced by (i) WH or (ii) whimperative question types. An acceptable response in respect to whimperatives is verbal, whereas in respect to impositives (a subcategory of whimperatives) or WH questions, it is more often non-verbal than verbal. In fact, if a request is supposed to function as a request for (b) change of action, more often than not an answer is expected. The question types that fall into this category are disjunctive impositives that start on the surface with kátu kv 'or Q', and WH questions.

7.4.5.1 WH Questions. Request for action, Function V (a), can be signalled by any of the WH morphemes. In (7.23), for example, the questioner really wants to see where his child got hurt. The underlying function could be interpreted as: 'Let me see where you got hurt'.

FIGURE 7.5 Everyday Conversation

Function V: Request for Action and/or Change of Action.

WH	85.7%
WHM	14.3%

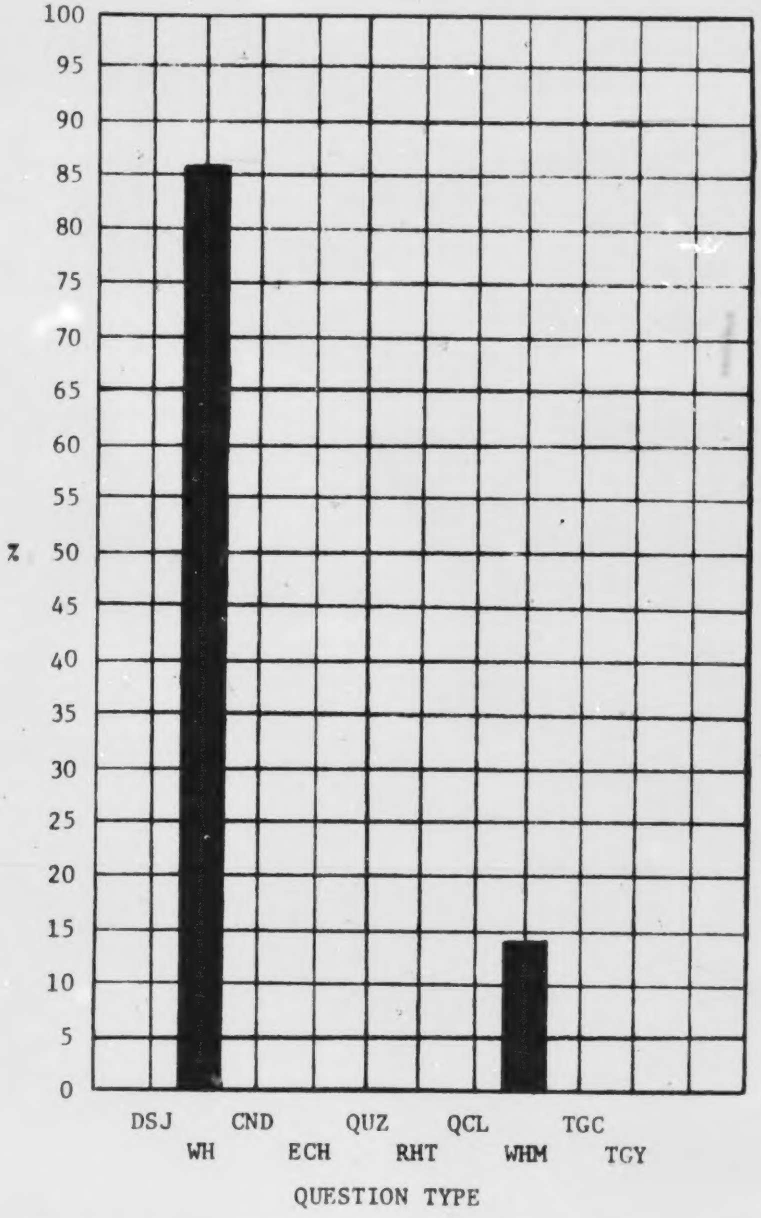

Fig. 7.5 shows the distribution of question types within Function V, which accounts for 2.6% of the total number of everyday questions.

(7.23) Q. to na?á:wv
how PRT-it-happens
Let me see, what is happening?

A. (The child shows her injured hand to the questioner.)

Request for change of action, Function V (b), can often be signalled by WH morphemes also. In (7.24) the mother demands of her daughter in the next room to be less noisy:

(7.24) Q. terés nishatyérha
Theresa PRT-you-are-doing
Theresa, what are you doing?

A. (The embarrassed laughter of Theresa is heard.)

7.4.5.2 Whimperative Question Types.

Whimperatives Certain 'why' questions, unlike their syntactic appearance, incite the addressee to action. In (7.25) the underlying suggestion is: 'Have your hair cut'. In other words, the questioner sees no reason why the addressee has not had his hair cut. His challenge to action demands a justifying answer. Yet, the non-committal answer seems to satisfy the questioner.

(7.25) Q. oh nutyé:rv tsi yah tesatenú?karu
WH PRT-it-is-(a)-matter that not you-have-your-hair-cut
Why don't you have your hair cut?

A. tő:ka
'I-don't know'
I don't know.

Impositives Impositives act like commands. Their functions are twofold. In (7.26) the addressee is to execute a non-verbal act. In (7.27) the answerer is to change his action.

In polite speech, Function V (a) is often introduced by a modal verb, as in (7.26).

(7.26) Q. terés , aú:tu kv ahsenhó:tu thi
Theresa, you-could Q you-would-close-door that-one
Theresa, could you close the door that is

ohná:kv ostúha tewakenhohútyu ó:nv
in-the-back a-little-bit I-opened-door now
in the back--I opened it a little bit, and now

ostúha sakanúhsanoste
a-little-bit again-house-is-cool
it is a little bit cool in the house.

kátu *kv* impositives whose subject is a first person plural or a second person singular seem to function as requests for a change of action, Function V (b). In (7.27), the visitor has just agreed to be taped in conversation with my consultant. The visitor's request really means: 'Let us say something else now'. The question thus takes on the function of a polite command for a change of action. In (7.27) the change requested pertains to the verbal activity. More specifically, a change in the theme is requested:

(7.27)

Visitor:

Q.	kátu	kv	knahó:tv?k	vtyení:ru
	or	Q	SOME-PRT-?-is-(a)-thing-this-one	we-will-say-it

Or shall we say something?

Consultant:

A.	(hv)	o ,	nyaté:ku	ki	atyathró:riyate
	(yes)	oh,	different-thing	that-one	we-could-talk-of-thing

(Yes) Oh, the kind of thing we could talk about

tsi	wvhniserí:yo	ki	wáhi
that	it-is-a-nice-day	that-one	TAG

is that the weather is nice, couldn't we?

Notice that the answerer accepts the request for a change of theme at the same time as she proposes quite a popular topic for discussion.

7.4.6 Function VI: Request for Delay. A set of questions (0.8%) and their answers in the data insert themselves between a question and its answer: [Q- [Q_D-A_D] -A]; see Fig. 7.6 on the following page. Such inserted questions--termed 'insertion sequence' by Sacks (1972)--are used in a conversation to delay a previously requested answer. The speaker asks for some information evidently needed in order to answer the question. Thus not any question can follow another question. Those that do follow, serve the purpose of eventually answering the initially-asked question, (Schegloff (1973), cited by Ann Weiser (1975: 649-660)).

In (7.28 Q_D), the primary function is that of a request for

FIGURE 7.6 Everyday Conversation

Function VI: Request for Delay.

DSJ 100.0%

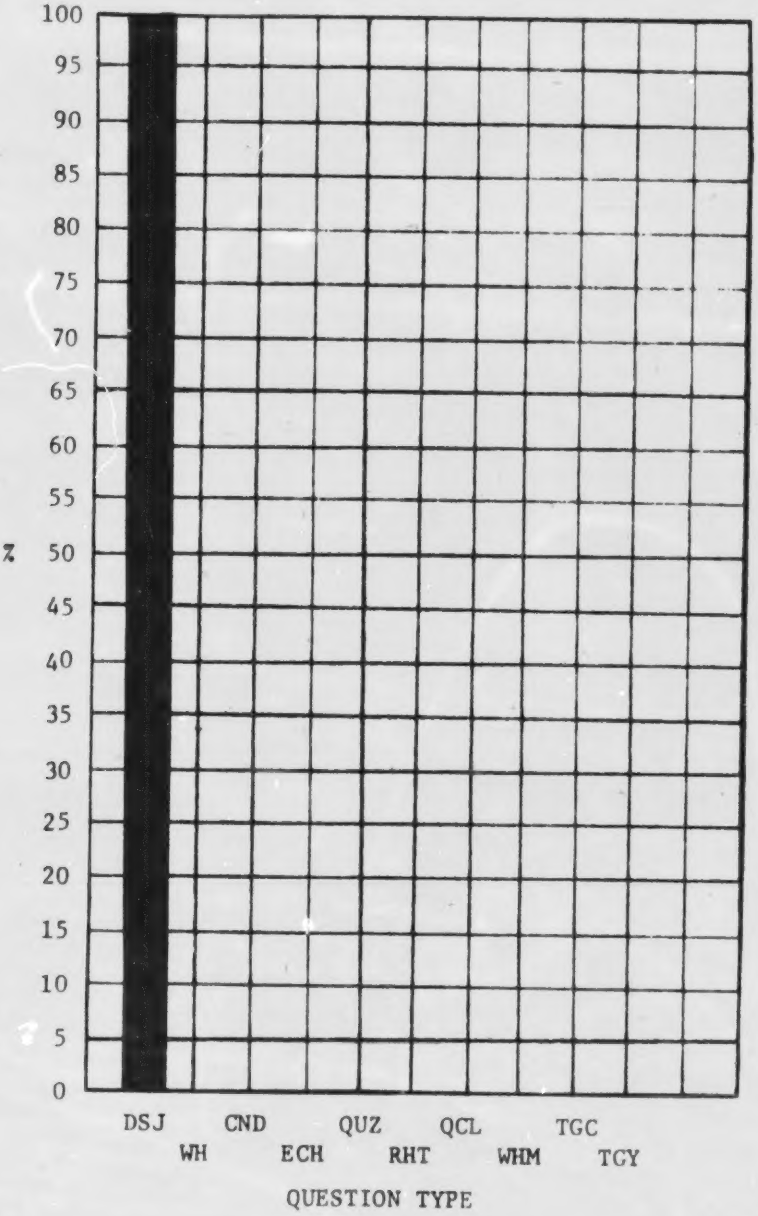

Fig. 7.6 shows the distribution of question types within Function VI, which accounts for 0.8% of the total number of everyday questions.

delay. A secondary function is, however, also present--the request for the specification of some given information.

(7.28) Q. úhka? réshu káti nú:wa ne rú:nete
who else then now NOM they-stand-up
Who then now are the elders

onuhsatokvhtí:ke
at-church
of the church?

Q_D. né kv tyokwanúhsote
NOM Q our-house-is-standing
You mean at our house?

A_D. hm
yes
Yes.

A. sakího, tsohké:ri, ...
Sakiho, Tsohkeri , ...
Sakiho, Tsohkeri, ...

7.4.7 Function VII: Request for a Permitting Action.

A small remnant (0.4%) among all the question-answer pairs functions as a request for a permitting action, a term used by Fillmore (1973); see Fig. 7.7 on the following page. In other words, the questioner seeks for permission from the addressee to execute a certain act. In (7.29) the petitioner introduces this request by a modal verb. Hence, politeness marks

FIGURE 7.7 Everyday Conversation

Function VII: Request for a Permitting Action.

DSJ 100.0%

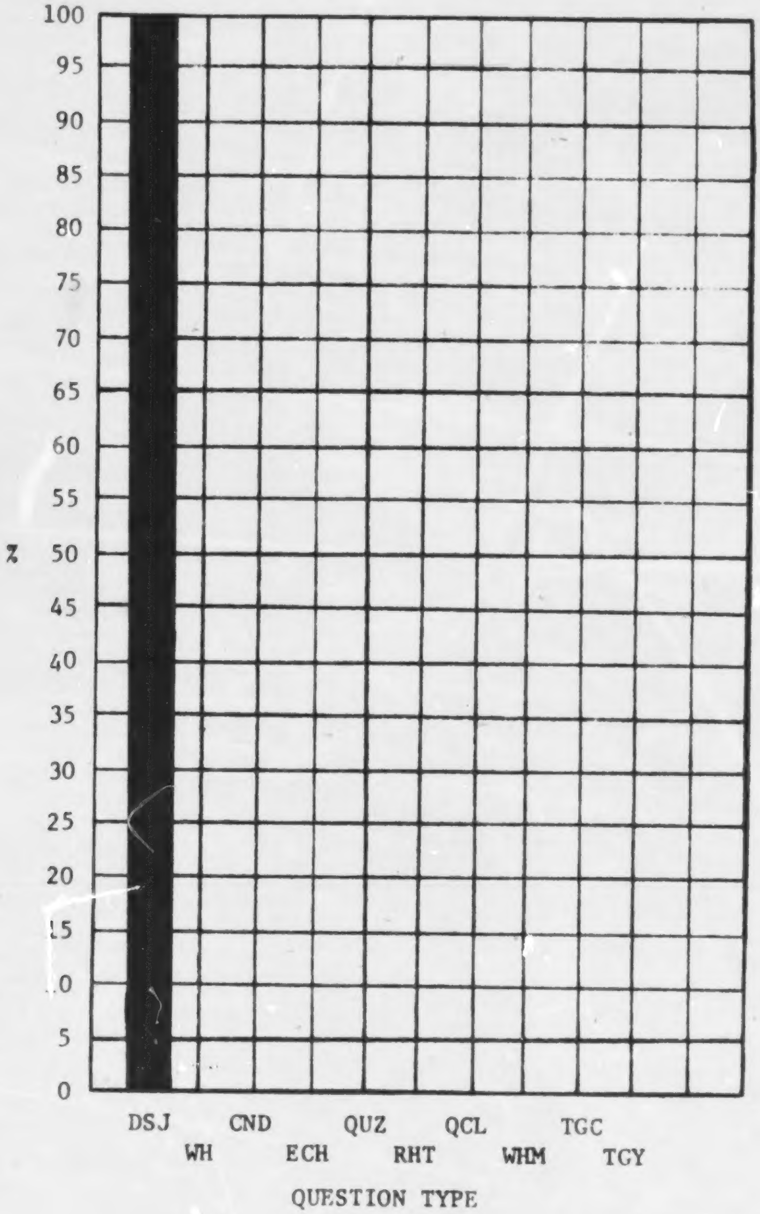

Fig. 7.7 shows the distribution of question types within Function VII, which accounts for 0.4% of the total number of everyday questions.

his request. Oddly enough, a polite answer is in the form of a command--see Fillmore (1973: 112). The answer in (7.29), in the form of a command, refuses to grant the permission. In this situation, evidently the refusal is a polite way of asking the guest not to be disturbed by the host passing by.

(7.29) Q. íhsehre? kv a?é:rv á:kehte
you-want Q away I-should-stand
Do you want me to get out of the way?

A. yah, yah tóhsa
no , 'don't'
No, don't move.

7.5 Functions Within Classroom Conversations. The questions we have observed within the classroom setting come under the following functional categories.

1. Request for proof of knowledge
2. Request for confirmation
3. Request for information
4. Request for delay
5. Request for repetition
6. Request for (a) further explanation and/or (b) further conversation
7. Request for imitation
8. Request for (a) action and/or (b) change of action
9. Request for politeness

The nine functions are listed according to their respective frequencies, with the most frequent in first position, and the least frequent in last. In Mohawk classroom conversation, we are not surprised to find that the functions of questions, as well as their relative frequencies, differ from those found in everyday conversations. Although we occasionally make general statements regarding classroom functions, it is to be understood that our observations were taken from one setting, and hence, may or may not be applicable on a larger scale to other Mohawk classroom settings.

The above paradigm of classroom functions suggests the following differences with respect to everyday versus classroom question-answer usage:

(i) Functions II-VI and VIII underlie the act of inquiring in classroom as well as in everyday situations. The Function of requesting a permitting action (7.4.7) has been observed only in everyday conversations, while proof of knowledge (7.5.1), imitation (7.5.7), and politeness (7.5.9) seem to be requested in classroom questions exclusively.

(ii) In both situations--everyday and the classroom--the major bulk of the occurring questions come under one but not the same functional category; for the comparative frequencies, see Fig. 7.17 at the end of this chapter. That is, in the case of everyday, the most frequent questions (with 67.0% of the total) functioned as requests for information (7.4.1), whereas in the case of the classroom, the most frequent questions (with 77.0%) functioned as requests for proof of knowledge (7.5.1). In everday conversation, each of the remaining functions were realized at or below the frequency of approximately 16%, and in the school classroom, at or below the frequency of approximately 8%. (For instance, at school, information was requested at a 6.9% frequency rating.)

7.5.1 Function I: Request for Proof of Knowledge. Questions observed in the classroom most frequently (77.0%) served the function of requesting proof of knowledge. Most of them were unmarked (91.0%), either (i) WH questions, or occasionally (ii) disjunctive questions; (iii) 2.8% were conditional questions, and (iv) 6.2% were quiz questions in form and function. See Fig. 7.8 on the following page. At first sight, (i) and (ii) appeared to request information. However, by examining their usage more closely, it became evident that the requested information was already known by the questioner. Obviously, their true function was not that of an information request. Proof of knowledge instead was requested.

7.5.1.1 WH Questions. More than 50% of them were 'what' questions, as in the following example.

(7.30)
Teacher:

Q.	nahó:tv?	kí:kare[*]
	PRT-?-is-(a)-kind	this-one-it-is-in
	What is this in it?	(the picture)

---

[*] kí:kare is a contracted form of ki í:kare 'this-one it-is-in'

FIGURE 7.8 Classroom Conversation

Function I: Request for Proof of Knowledge.

DSJ	15.2%
WH	75.8%
CND	2.8%
QUZ	6.2%

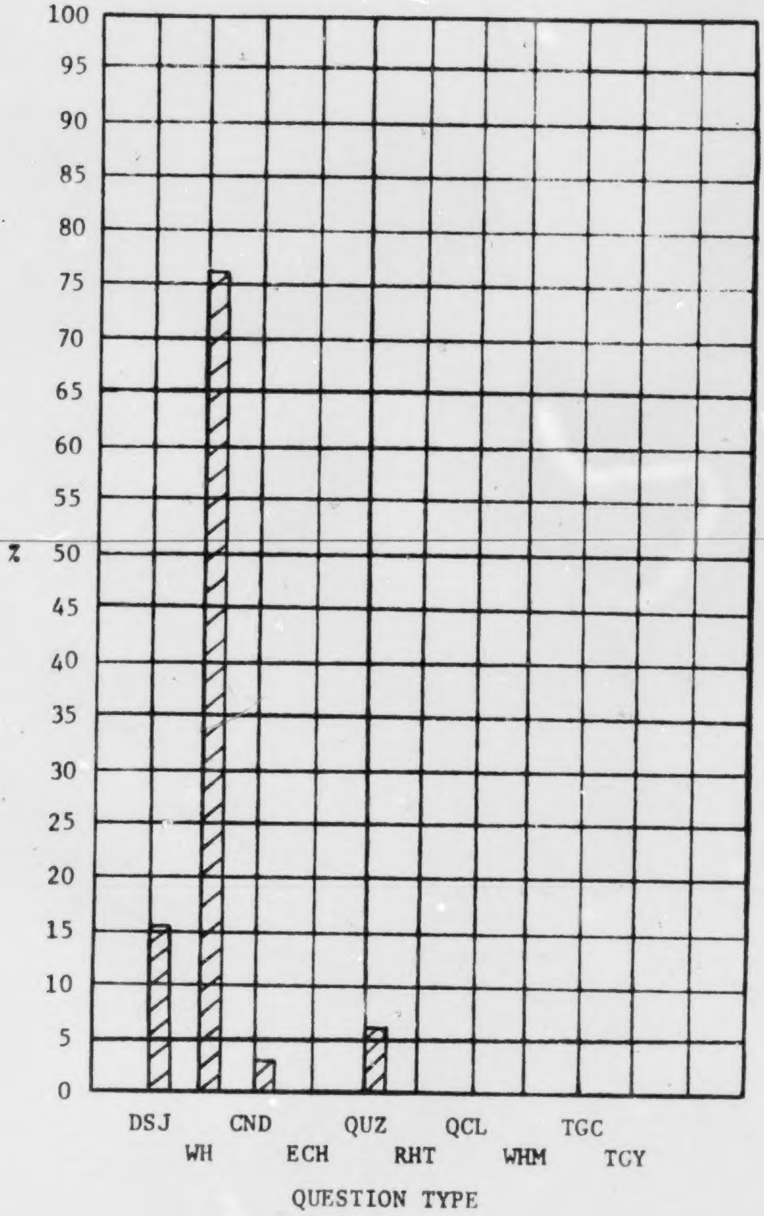

Fig. 7.8 shows the distribution of question types within Function I, which accounts for 77.0% of the total number of classroom questions.

(7.30)

Student:

A_1. ohnv́hare
grape
A grape.

Teacher:

R. yah
no
No.

Student:

A_2. (silence)

Teacher:

A_3. kahvtakéha
blueberry
A blueberry.

The teacher definitely does not ask for new information, otherwise she could not have provided the correct answer herself, as in (7.30 A_3). It follows that this and almost every unmarked question uttered by the teacher serve the sole purpose of testing the student's knowledge.

7.5.1.2 Disjunctive Questions. These question types are used to a much lesser degree than WH questions. Take, for example, the following yes-no question:

(7.31)

Teacher:

Q. yakoyó?te kv sa?nistv́ha
she-works Q your-mother
Is your mother working?

(7.31)

Student:

A. hm
yes
Yes.

In (7.30), as in WH questions in general, the ability to produce an answer is tested; in (7.31), as in yes-no questions in general, comprehension is verified.

7.5.1.3 Conditional Questions. Testing was also realized by marked question types. The conditional question in (7.32) was set up by the teacher, in order to provide the student with an hypothetical frame as a guide in his search for the correct answer.

(7.32)

Teacher:

Q.

tóka	se?	eksá:?a	ne	kí	kv́	yétskote
if	perhaps	little-girl	NOM	this-one	here	she-is-seated

If this one sitting here were a little girl,

nahó:tv?	káti	kv	ne	vsí:ru
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind	then	DUB	NOM	you-would-say-it

then what would you say?

Student:

A_1. eksá:?a
little-girl
A little girl.

(7.32)

Teacher:

R_1. yah
no
No.

Student:

A_2. raksá:?a
little-boy
A little boy.

Teacher:

R_2. khe
me-(to)-her
My

Student:

A_3. khe?kv̵́:?a
my-little-sister
My little sister.

The question-answer exchange proves that the teacher's good-willed attempt to guide the student's response was not very successful at first. The reason for this failure might have been partially due to the structural complexity of the question, partially to the propositional content of the question, or to extralinguistic factors. None of the conditional question types, when used in class, resulted in satisfactory responses; this is not the case, however, when they are used in everyday conversations.

7.5.1.4 Quiz Questions. Quiz questions in general proved to be simpler in structure and clearer in proposition. Notice, that in (7.33) the questioned constituent is deleted. Intonation is non-final. A nominal, one-word answer is expected.

(7.33)
Teacher:

Q.	sa?nistv̂ha	ó:ni	tyé:teru	wâhi	tâhnu
	your-mother	too	she-is-home	TAG	and

Your mother also is at home, isn't she, and

Student:

A.	hm,	ra?nîha*
	hm,	my-father
	Hm,	my father.

The teacher knows the whole community. The answer is thus clearly known by her. The question herewith turns into an instrument for testing. Of course, the testing function of the above question is not only evident to the teacher, but also to the student.

7.5.2 Function II: Request for Confirmation. In class as in everyday conversations, the second most important function of questions observed by us was that of requesting confirmation (8.1% of the total number of questions); see Fig. 7.9 on the following page. This function in class, however, was one-half as frequent as in everyday conversations,

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*The proper form here should be rake?nîha 'my-father'.

FIGURE 7.9 Classroom Conversation

Function II: Request for Confirmation.

DSJ	26.3%
ECH	5.3%
RHT	5.3%
QCL	5.3%
TGC	47.4%
TGY	10.4%

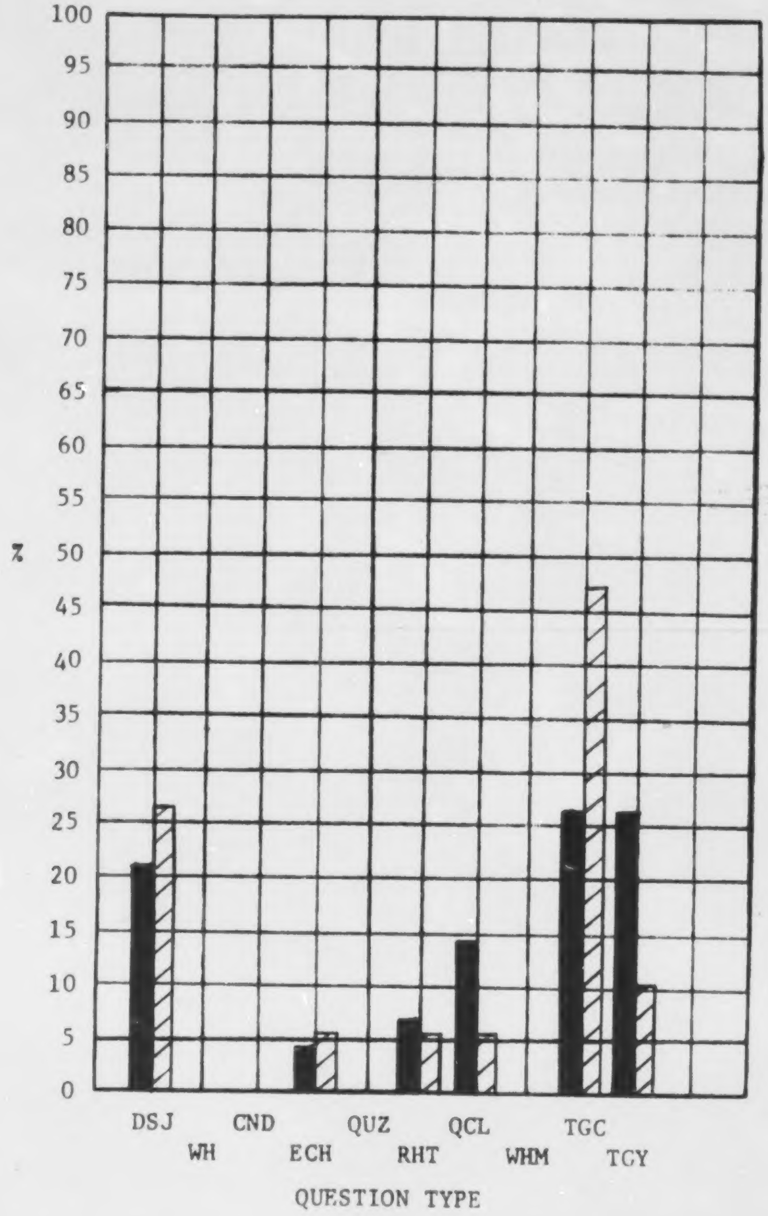


Fig. 7.9 shows the distribution of question types within Function II, which accounts for 8.1% of the total number of classroom questions.

though their question types were mostly the same: (i) tag questions, and to a lesser extent, queclaratives,[7] (ii) disjunctive questions, (iii) echo questions, and (iv) rhetorical questions. The lower frequency in the classroom can easily be explained in terms of the interrelationship between participants. In everyday conversations, any participant--whether questioner or answerer--occasionally used Function II, for example, in the form of a tag question.[8] Confirmation was thus sought from one another. In the classroom, the use of this Function seemed to be the prerogative of the questioner (teacher) only. The students seldom, if ever, asked questions themselves. It appears that the mutual requesting of confirmation just was not appropriate at school. Now let us look at the different realizations of Function II.

7.5.2.1 Tag Questions and Queclarative Questions. The wáhi or kv tags seemed to function most often as confirmation requests. In St. Regis, the kv tag was more frequently used than the wáhi tag. We, therefore, shall start with a kv tag example that asks for a verbal confirmation.

(7.34)
Teacher:

Q.	káhi ,	ne	kv	tewanatúkwa	kv	thí
	fruit,	NOM	Q	we-call-it	TAG	this-one

Fruit--is that what we call it, eh?

(7.34)

Student:

A. sewahyó:wane
apple
An apple.

Teacher:

Ap. sewahyó:wane
apple
An apple.

The reading of the above question is, in fact, that of a queclarative reading: 'We don't really call it a fruit, do we?'. The answer now makes sense; 'apple' hence implies: 'I confirm that we don't call it fruit but apple'. The tag and the queclarative reading of the above question reinforced the function of confirmation which, once appropriately interpreted, resulted in a response that received approval by the teacher.

There have been tag questions of the type 5.3.9.1 that did not initially receive a verbal confirmation answer. The answer in (7.35 A_2) was non-verbal, in the form of an affirmative nod. Yet, after further explanation, the teacher later asked the student to repeat the statement in (7.35 Q_C).

(7.35)

Teacher:

Q. takhró:ri , oh niyutyérha
you-tell-me , WH PRT-she-is-doing
Tell me, what is she doing?

Student:

A_1. (silence)

(7.35)

Teacher:

Q_C. eksá:?a yakowená:note wáhi ...
little-girl she-is-reading TAG ...
The little girl is reading, isn't she?

Student:

A_2. (nodding affirmatively)

The yáh kv tag question type 5.3.9.4, when requesting confirmation, always seemed to follow a statement that contained a negative proposition or entailed a negative one which was not really expected, as in (7.36). Notice that the tag question follows an information statement previously unknown to the teacher.

(7.36)

Student:

St. onhúhsa oswvkará:ke ukwá:ti
egg on-floor I-threw-it
I threw the egg on the floor....

Teacher:

Q. yáh kv tesekv́:?u
not Q you-liked-taste
Didn't you like the taste?

Student:

A. yah
no
No.

Notice the negative confirmation response. Evidently this type of question always requests a response of this nature. In class, a verbal response alternated with a gestural one.

7.5.2.2 *Disjunctive Questions*. Again the teacher was requesting confirmation in (7.37 Q_2). Interestingly enough, the request followed a true information request, Q_1. This makes us suspect that the use of many of the Function II questions were in direct response to preceding true information questions or statements.

(7.37)
Teacher:

Q_1. ná:ti , kní:se?*
Nattie, and-NOM-you
Nattie, and you? (What time did you get up this morning?)

Student:

A_1. sha?té:ku
eight
Eight (o'clock).

Teacher:

Q_2. sha?té:ku kv niyohwistá:?e
eight Q PRT-it-strikes-bell
At eight o'clock?

Student:

A_2. hm
yes
Yes.

---

[*] *kní:se?* is a contracted form of *ok* *ne* *í:se?* 'and NOM you'.

The question previously asked is completely deleted in (7.37 Q_1). This type of ellipsis has been frequently observed in class, and approximately two-thirds less frequently in everyday conversations. The teacher explicitly formulated the question the first time, but as she continued to interrogate the different pupils with the same question, she ceased repeating the already given question material. Instead, she called upon each different student by name, indicating by the use of the conjunction particle 'and' the link between the preceding discourse context and the one to follow.

7.5.2.3 Echo Questions. Another instance was observed in (7.38), where the request for confirmation entailed a preceding true information request and answer. In this case, however, confirmation was requested in the form of an echo question, specifying the constituent under question.

(7.38)
Teacher:

Q_1.	to	úhte	tó	ní:ku
	how	I-wonder	maybe	PRT-it-is-amount

I wonder, how much (money he has)?

Student:

A_1. skahwísta
one-dollar
One dollar.

(7.38)

Teacher:

Q_2. skahwísta kv
one-dollar Q
One dollar?

Student:

A_2. hm
yes
Yes.

7.5.2.4 Rhetorical Questions. As in everyday conversations, the questioner does not expect any answer. In everyday situations, the addressee still might overtly confirm the question's presuppositional and propositional content. However, in class, the students neither verbally contradicted nor confirmed the teacher's assumptions. In (7.39), the teacher is pointing at a teacher in a picture:

(7.39)

Teacher:

Q. tsi sanikúrha kv ne nahó:tv?
that you-forget Q NOM PRT-?-is-(a)-thing
Are you forgetting what that is?

Teacher:

A. yakorihunyá:ni
she-teaches-them
She is teaching.

The answer immediately follows the question. The students' silence takes on the significance of confirmation, as they believe that the teacher knows best. We wonder if such a functional use of questions, in some cases, does not give the teacher opportunity to transmit prejudices which may not necessarily correspond to actual facts.

7.5.3 Function III: Request for Information. There have been occasional questions observed in the classroom that, without doubt, served the purpose of eliciting information (6.8%); see Fig. 7.10 on the following page. There were equally as many (i) unmarked WH questions as there were (ii) unmarked disjunctive questions.

7.5.3.1 WH Questions. In Q_1 of the previous example (7.37), the teacher really could not have known what time the students would get up in the morning. We suspect, however, that ultimately this question served the purpose of testing knowledge. The teacher's intent was to find out if the student was capable of answering her question in Mohawk. Though a true information question, it fundamentally served the purpose of testing.

Nevertheless, some questions were typical information questions without an underlying quiz intention, as was shown to be the case in (7.37). For instance, at the end of the class, the teacher handed out some candies. Suddenly she realized that she might be short of them. Therefore, this following question (7.40) ensued:

FIGURE 7.10 Classroom Conversation

Function III: Request for Information.

DSJ	50.0%
WH	50.0%

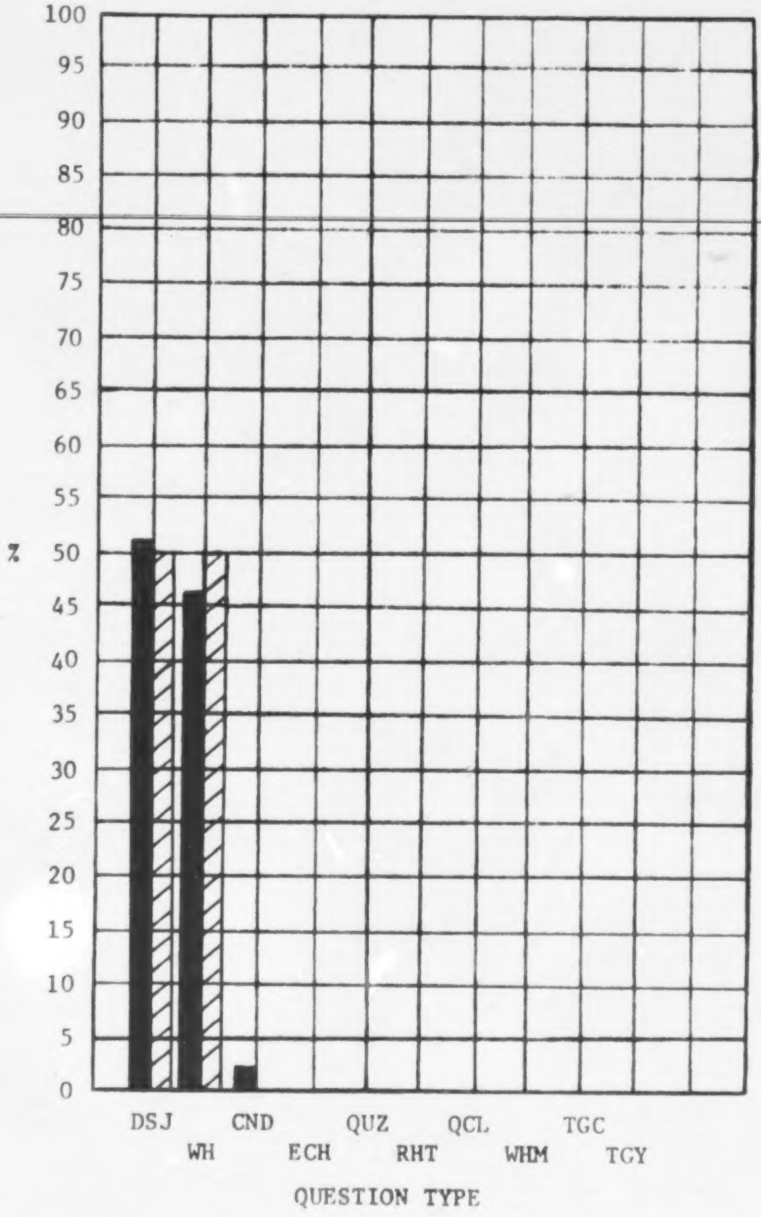


Fig. 7.10 shows the distribution of question types within Function III, which accounts for 6.8% of the total number of classroom questions.

(7.40)
Teacher:
Q. to ní:tsu shé:ku
how PRT-you still
How many are you still (that have not got a candy)?

Students: (several together)
A. kayé:ri
four
Four.

7.5.3.2 Disjunctive Questions. We noticed the same difficulty with their functional content here, as in 7.4.1. The teacher requested some student to assert whether he had hit the microphone or not. The information she was seeking, however, could have another underlying function: that of requesting confirmation. This latter function would occur if the questioner were more certain than not of the assertive nature of the proposition. We would need to have more information about the social context, in order to decide for Function III alone, or for its co-occurrence with Function II. In any case, one thing is clear: information about the propositional content is sought.

(7.41)
Teacher:
Q. í:se? kv wa?tesú:ko
you Q you-hit-it
Is it you that hit it (the microphone)?

Student:
A. (silence)

7.5.4 Function IV: Request for Delay. A few questions and their answers (2.6%) operated as insertion sequences requesting a delay in a previously demanded answer. These delay questions could be either (i) yes-no questions, or (ii) WH questions; see Fig. 7.11 on the following page. They were used by the speakers to obtain more needed information, in order to correctly answer the question.

7.5.4.1 Yes-No Questions. Most of the delay question-answer sequences in the classroom asked for assertion of one of the elements requested.

(7.42)

Teacher:

Q.	vskwéni	kv	vhsekhróri	oh	niyutyérha
	you-will-be-able	Q	you-will-tell-me	WH	she-is-doing-it

Will you be able to tell me

thí:	
that-one	

what she is doing?

Student:

Q_D.	yeksá:?a	(kv)
	little-girl	(Q)

The little girl?

Teacher:

A_D.	yah	se?	ta*	eksá:?a	té:kv
	not	definitely	I-think	little-girl	that-one

I definitely do not think that it is a little girl.

---

*ta is a contracted form of tóka 'I-think'.

FIGURE 7.11 Classroom Conversation

Function IV: Request for Delay.

DSJ	83.3%
WH	16.7%

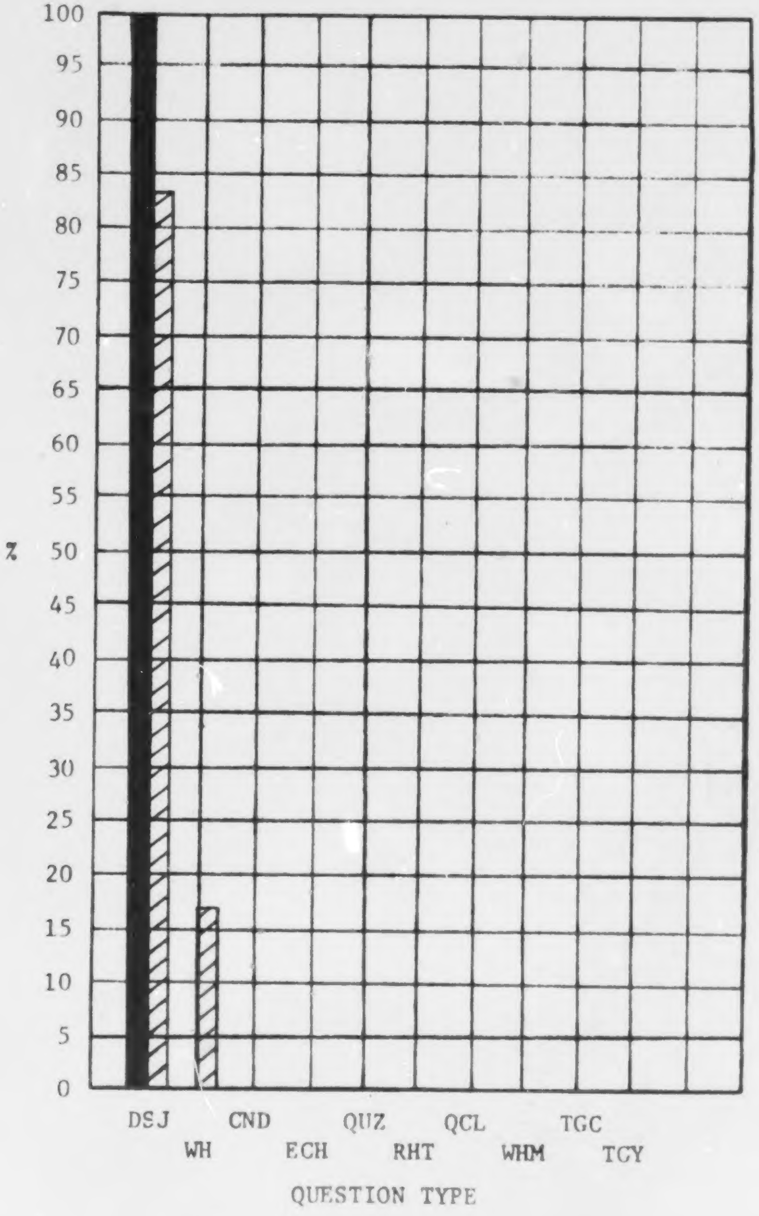


Fig. 7.11 shows the distribution of question types within Function IV, which accounts for 2.6% of the total number of classroom questions.

(7.42)

Student:

A_1. (silence)

Teacher:

A_2. yenoharényus
she-washes
She is washing.

Student:

A_3. yenoharényus
she-washes
She is washing.

The complex question of the teacher is in reality a request for an answer: 'You tell me: "What is she doing?"'. Even after having received additional information, the student answered only after the teacher had provided him with the correct response. Failure to answer questions was rare in everyday situations, yet very frequent in classroom interaction.

7.5.4.2 WH Questions. The student in (7.43) was in fact making a deal with the teacher: 'If you answer my question, then I shall answer yours'. A final response was given; yet, it did not actually answer the teacher's initial question.

(7.43)

Teacher:

Q. ka? nú tyotú:ni
which PRT-place it-grows
Where does it grow?

(7.43)

Student:

Q_D. nahó:tv?
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind
What?

Teacher:

A_D.	né	ki	kí:kv
	NOM	this-one	this-one
	This one.		(pointing)

Student:

A. niyohutésha
strawberry
A strawberry.

7.5.5 Function V: Request for Repetition. A small set of questions (2.2%)--all WH questions--served as requests for repetition; see Fig. 7.12 on the following page. In everyday conversations, the Function requesting repetition implied underlying functions pertaining to the participants or to the topic, (see 7.1.4). Not so in the classroom; there, the function operated either for the sole purpose of repeating an utterance not understood by the teacher (7.44); or to remind the student that he was supposed to speak in Mohawk (7.45); or else to signal to the student that 'complete' utterances are required (7.46).

(7.44)

Teacher:

Q.	Lúi ,	ka?	nú	wá:re	thi	raksá:?a
	Louis,	which	PRT-place	he-goes	that-one	little-boy
	Louis, where is this little boy going?					

FIGURE 7.12 Classroom Conversation

Function V: Request for Repetition.

WH 100.0%

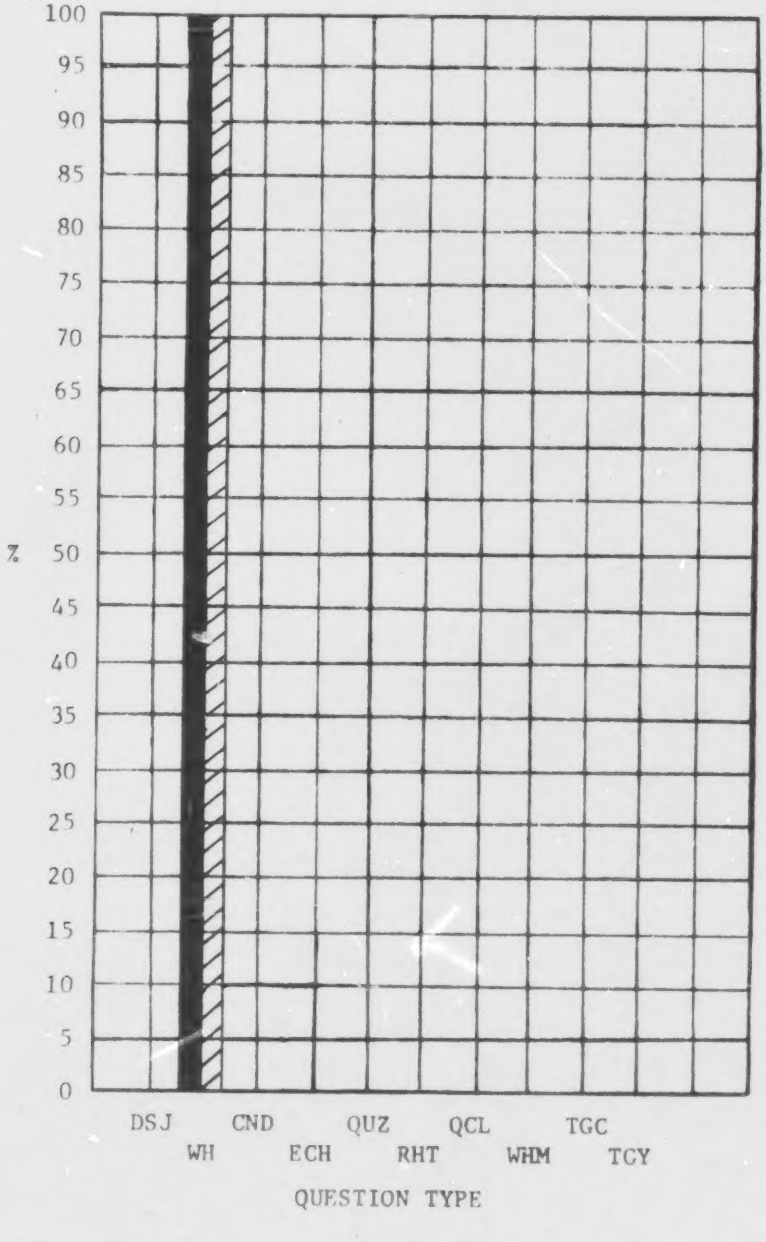


Fig. 7.12 shows the distribution of question types within Function V, which accounts for 2.2% of the total number of classroom questions.

(7.44)

Student:

A_1. (not understandable)

Teacher:

Q_R. nahó:tv?
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind
What?

Student:

A_2. tsi kakó:sere
that small-grocery-store
To that small grocery store.

Teacher:

Ap. tsi kakó:sere , hv
that small-grocery-store, yes
To that small grocery store, yes.

Again, in the next two examples, we see the pattern of layers of functions arising. The Function of repetition had another underlying function in (7.45), that of speaking in Mohawk; and in (7.46), that of speaking in 'complete' utterances.

(7.45)

Teacher:

Q. to ní:tsu nakwé:ku
how PRT-you NOM-all
How many are you in all?

Student.

A_1. faif
five
Five.

(7.45)

Teacher:

Q_R. nahó:tv?
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind
What?

Student:

A_2. wísk
five
Five.

(7.46)

Teacher:

Q.

to	úhte	tsi	kahyá:tu	íhsehre?	rátstha
how	I-wonder	that	it-is-marked	you-think	he-uses

What grade, I wonder, is he in?

Student:

A_1. kayé:ri
four
Four.

Teacher:

Q_R. nahó:tv?
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind
What?

Student:

A_2. (silence)

Teacher:

R_1.

kayé:ri	tsi	kahyá:tu	rátstha
four	that	it-is-marked	he-uses

Grade four he is in.

(7.46)

Student:

A_3. kayé:ri
four
Four.

Teacher:

R_2. tsi kahyá:tu
that it-is-marked
Grade.

Student:

A_4. tsi kahyá:tu rátstha
that it-is-marked he-uses
Grade he is in.

Function V was realized in the above examples with a 'what' question. In (7.46 Q_R) the teacher requested repetition of the new and the given (presupposed) information. This intent seemed to be a typical school function, indicating that teachers often were not aware of some of the most basic rules of discourse economy, e.g. ellipsis of given information.

7.5.6 Function VI: Request for (a) Further Explanation, and/or (b) Further Conversation. Among the 1.7% of questions requesting (a) further explanation, or (b) further conversation, one-half of them were (i) tag questions, and the other half (ii) unmarked yes-no and WH questions; see Fig. 7.13 on the following page. For the same reasons as discussed in 7.4.3 this category, although it has a close relation to Function II, shall be treated as a separate category. We shall, however,

FIGURE 7.13 Classroom Conversation

Function VI: Request for Further Explanation and/or Further Conversation.

DSJ	25.0%
WH	25.0%
TGY	50.0%

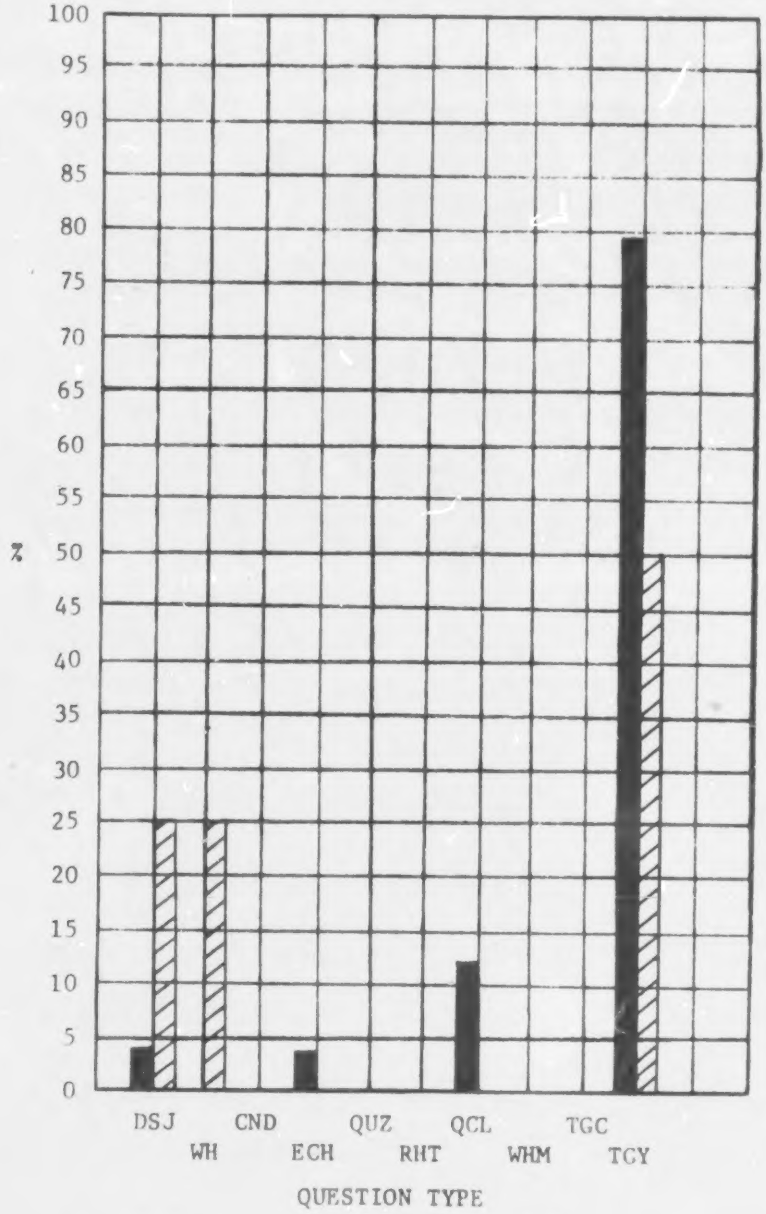


Fig. 7.13 shows the distribution of question types within Function VI, which accounts for 1.7% of the total number of classroom questions.

specify co-occurrence rules in the following examples.

7.5.6.1 *Tag Questions*. The *yáh kv* tag question type 5.3.9.1 was the only tag type used in the classroom, serving Function VI. *yáh kv* 'no eh?' as a one-word question, in everyday as well as in classroom conversations, usually requests explanation. In (7.47) the teacher intended to request explanation from the student--Function VI (a)--for the purpose of involving him in further Mohawk conversation--Function VI (b). Thus, where Functions VI (a) and (b) co-occur within a one-word *yáh kv* tag question, Function II is definitely excluded.

(7.47)

Teacher:

Q_1.	royéshu	kv	thi	tsi	rayá:taru
	he-laughs	Q	that-one	that	he-is-in-picture

Is he laughing, that one in the picture?

Student:

A_1. yáhtv

'no-indeed'

Definitely not.

Teacher:

Q_2.	yáh	kv
	no	Q

No, eh?

Q_3.	káti	nihatyérha
	therefore	PRT-he-is-doing

Therefore, what is he doing?

(7.47)

Student:

A_2. tehasv́thos
he-is-crying
He is crying.

It should be noticed that the habitual function(s) of a yáh kv one-word question is weakened if immediately followed by a question that specifies the type of answer requested, as in (7.47 Q_3). In using Q_2 and Q_3 successively, the teacher changed the requests for further explanation and conversation in Q_2, into a request for proof of knowledge in Q_3. In everyday conversation, it is up to the answerer to decide how to respond and direct the ongoing conversation. In the above example, the teacher clearly was controlling the course of conversation. Hereby, language functions implied in the choice of linguistic forms are deprived of their presupposed quality as described in 7.4.3.1.

7.5.6.2 Unmarked Questions. We shall give only one example--a WH question--to illustrate a question whose use in the classroom served as Function VI (a), a request for further explanation. A student told the class how he had thrown an egg on the floor at home. A true information question, Q_1, was the immediate response of his teacher, which was then followed by Q_2, a question asking for further explanation.

(7.48)

Teacher:

Q_1.	oswvkará:ke	(kv)	eh	wesá:ti
	on-floor	(Q)	there	you-threw-it

On the floor you threw it?

(7.48)

Student:

A_1. hv
yes
Yes.

Teacher:

Q_2. oh nutyé:rv
WH PRT-it-is-the-reason
Why?

Student:

A_2. (silence) (laughter in class)

The student was not responding as requested. The laughter of the students perhaps intimidated him. Silence thus functions here as a correction of presuppositions held by the teacher, (see 6.2.3.4).

7.5.7 Function VII: Request for Imitation. Only in classroom conversations have we observed a few questions that acted as requests for imitation (0.8%); see Fig. 7.14 on the following page. In our data, (i) yes-no questions, and (ii) whimperatives are associated with Function VII. They will be explicated respectively in (7.49) and (7.50).

7.5.7.1 Yes-No Questions. The following (7.49 Q_2) is used by the teacher as a means of tutoring one of her students. Its function is, among others, that of requesting imitation. Imitation, in turn, serves the purpose of acquiring new material:

FIGURE 7.14 Classroom Conversation

Function VII: Request for Imitation.

DSJ	50.0%
WHM	50.0%

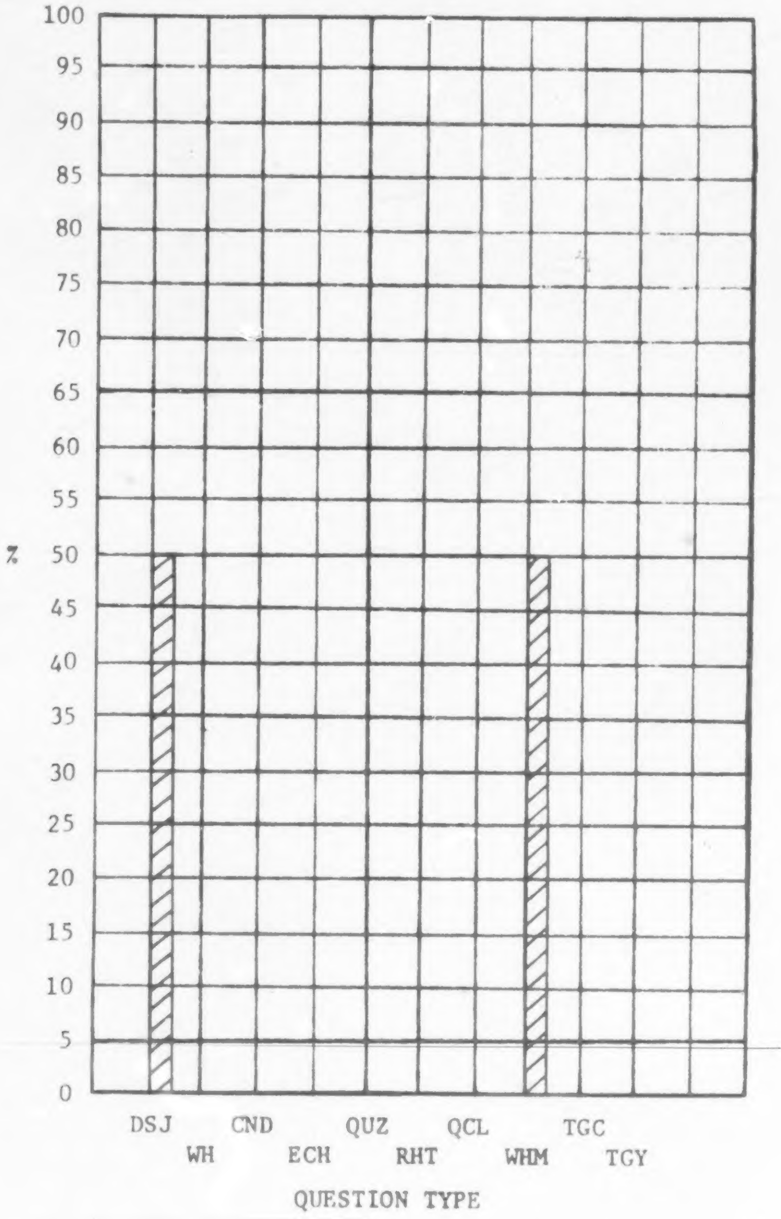


Fig. 7.14 shows the distribution of question types within Function VII, which accounts for 0.8% of the total number of classroom questions.

(7.49)

Teacher:

Q$_1$. nahó:tv? thi yahá:rohwe awv́:ke
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind that-one they-put-it in-body-of-water
What do they put in the body of water?

Student:

A$_1$. ohné:kanus (laughter)
water
Water.

Teacher:

Q$_2$. á:?are (kv)
net (Q)
A net?

Student:

A$_2$. á:?are
net
A net.

The student correctly interpreted the teacher's Q$_2$--a simple question this time--as a request for imitation.

7.5.7.2 Whimperatives. The complex question in (7.50) was interpreted by the student as a command for imitation: 'Danny, say: "The little girl reads"'. Consequently, he imitated the teacher's underlying statement. In fact, this function could be a subcategory of Function VIII, a request for action. Since the action is a very particular one--verbalization--we have decided to set up another category.

(7.50)

Teacher:

Q. dáni , askwé:ni kv así:ru eksá:?a
Danny, could-you Q you-would-say-it little-girl
Danny, could you say: 'The little girl

yakowaná:note
she-is-reading
is reading'?

Student:

A. eksá:?a yakowaná:note
little-girl she-is-reading
The little girl is reading.

7.5.8 Function VIII: Request for (a) Action, and/or (b) Change of Action. Only 0.4% of the classroom questions took on the function of a request for (a) action, and (b) change of action;[9] see Fig. 7.15 on the following page. Without one exception, these Function VIII requests all occurred in the form of impositives. The impositive in (7.51), for example, was uttered at a moment when some students started to whisper in English. The teacher was requesting a very particular action from these students: 'There is no reason why you should talk in English; don't talk in English'. Function VIII (a) 'Don't talk in English' entails VIII (b) 'Talk in Indian'. In fact, her next utterance--a command--made explicit this latter function. Function VIII (b), implicit in the impositive question, is herewith reinforced.

FIGURE 7.15 Classroom Conversation

Function VIII: Request for Action and/or Change of Action.

WHM	100.0%

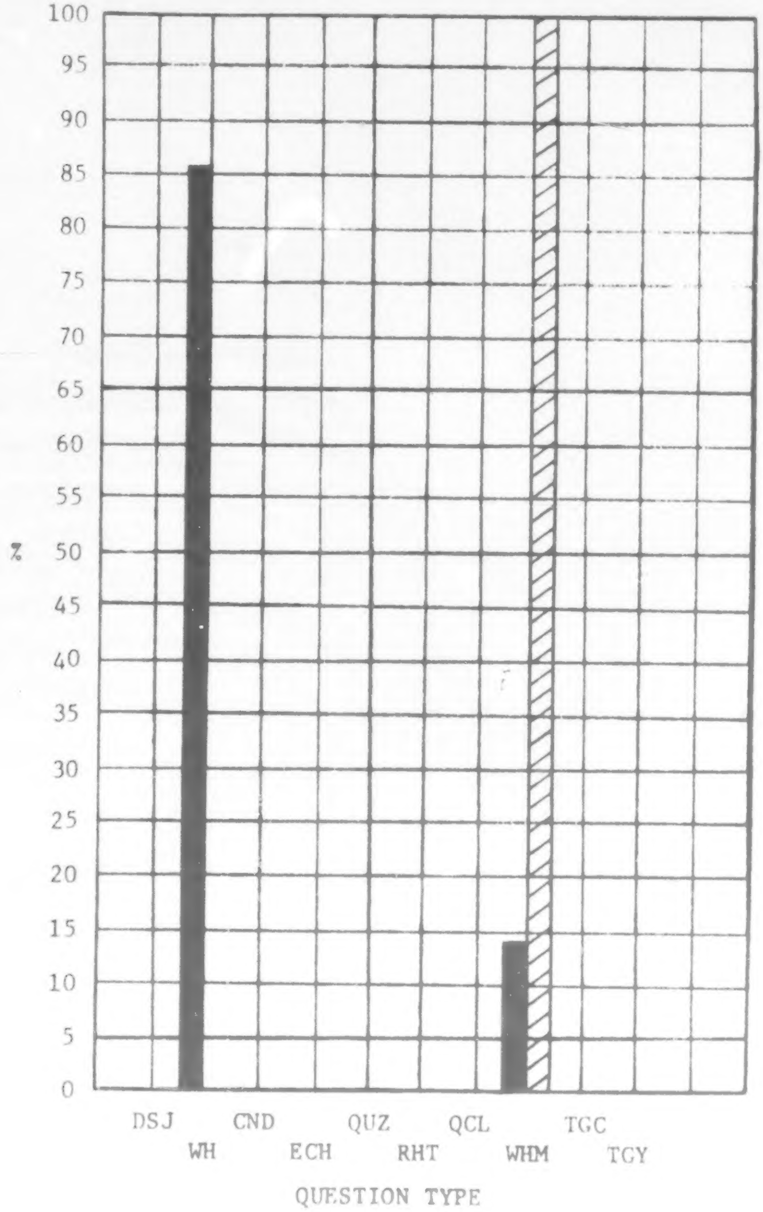


Fig. 7.15 shows the distribution of question types within Function VIII, which accounts for 0.4% of the total number of classroom questions.

(7.51)

Teacher:

Q.	oh	nutyé:rv	tsi	tyorhv́:sha	tahsatá:ti
	WH	PRT-it-is-(a)-matter	that	in-English	you-spoke-it
	Why did you speak in English?				

Student:

A. (silence)

Teacher:

Command.	ukwehuwenéha	ta?khró:ri
	'in-Indian'	you-tell-me-it
	Tell me in Indian!	

7.5.9 Function IX: Request for Politeness. Again, only 0.4% of the question data comes under this function, that of a request for politeness; see Fig. 7.15 on the following page. Politeness is not often requested in class, though it might be if the class were larger and potentially more unruly. In everyday conversation, we overheard a parent make a command to one of his children: 'Say: "Thank you"'! At school, the teacher reminded the student, in the form of a WH question, that the situation requested a polite verbal response (7.52). The way in which politeness is requested reinforces the teacher-pupil relationship. Seemingly new information is sought by the student. In actual fact, the teacher is instructing the student in the etiquette of politeness.

FIGURE 7.16 Classroom Conversation

Function IX: Request for Politeness.

WH 100.0%

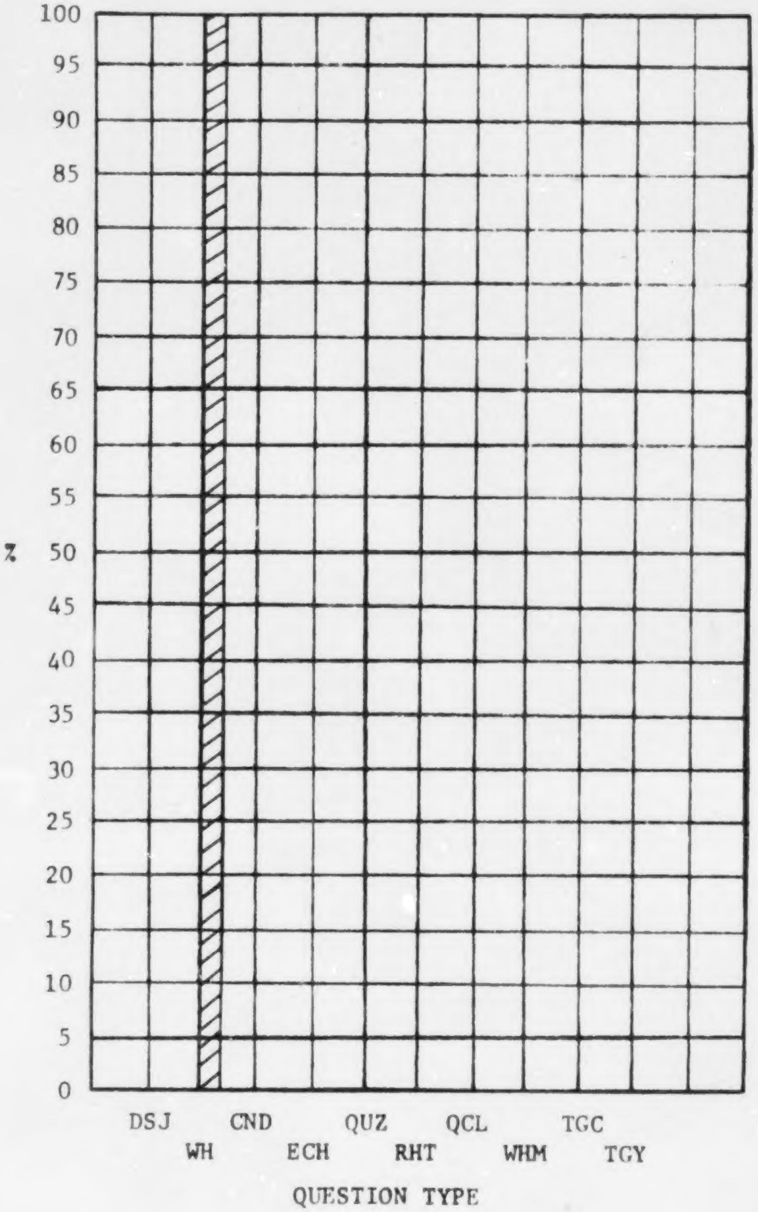


Fig. 7.16 shows the distribution of question types within Function IX, which accounts for 0.4% of the total number of classroom questions.

(7.52)

Teacher:

Q. nahó:tv? wahsí:ru
PRT-?-is-(a)-kind you-would-say-it
What would you say?

Student:

A. nyá:wv
'thank-you'
Thank you.

7.6 Summary. In closing this chapter, we have shown above that an analytical approach to functions of a speech act is possible; it is also desirable. We do not claim to have dealt with the totality of speech functions, although we have attempted to identify functions as communicative values or intents conventionally ascribed to the act of inquiring. Functional value, in our study, was determined by criteria, i.e. answers relating to the functional content of questions, enabling us to set up functional categories for two different speech settings: that of everyday and that of classroom conversations.

The significant difference between these speech settings was functional in nature. For the comparative distribution of functions, see Fig. 7.17 on the following page. In the case of everyday conversation, the major bulk of questions embodied the intent 'request for information'. In the classroom, the greater portion of questions operated as 'requests for proof of knowledge'. Imitation and politeness were also sought for in the classroom, but not so in everyday conversation. Permitting action

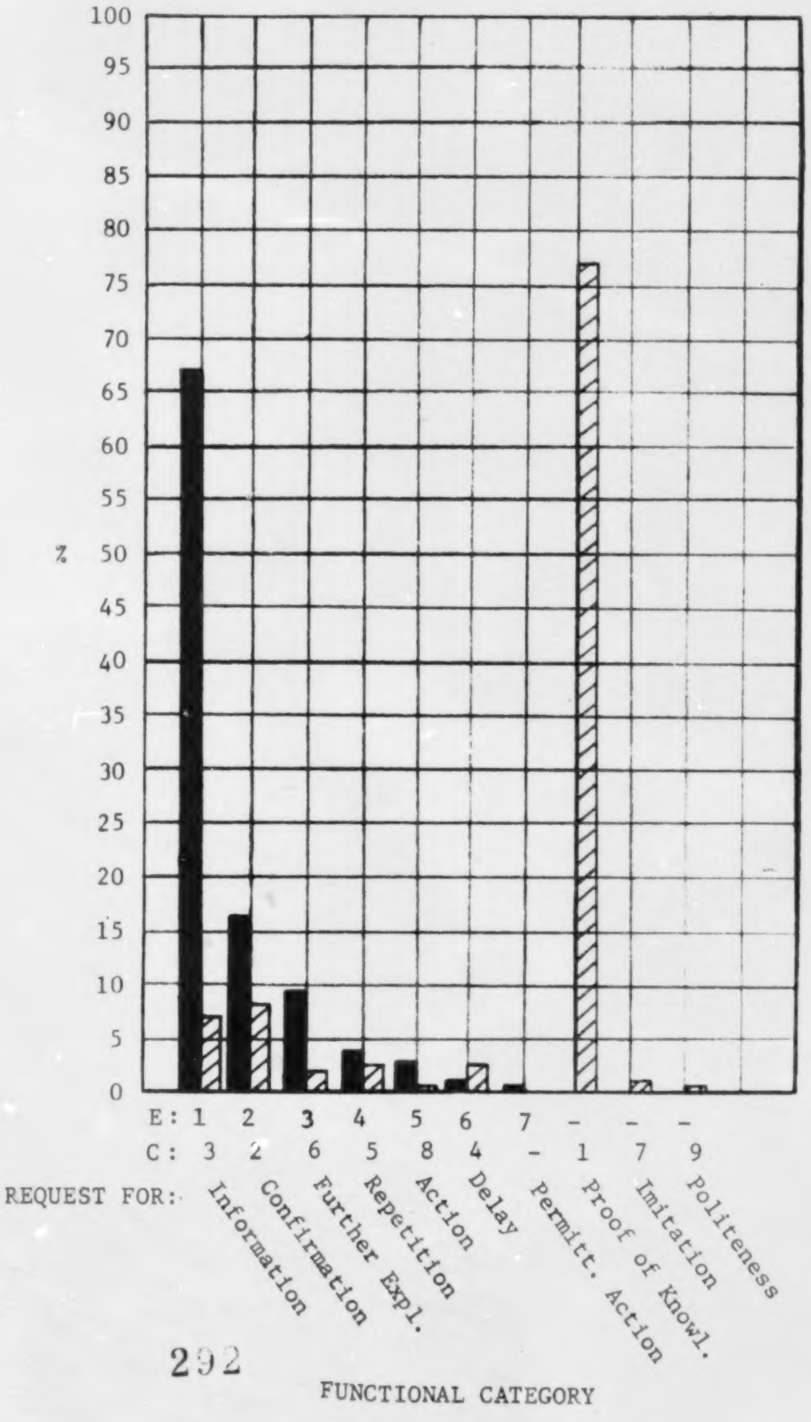
FIGURE 7.17 Everyday and Classroom Conversations

Comparison of Function Types and Their Relative Frequencies.

Everyday Function (E)

Classroom Function (C)

E 1	67.0%
C 3	6.8%
E 2	16.2%
C 2	8.1%
E 3	9.2%
C 6	1.7%
E 4	3.8%
C 5	2.2%
E 5	2.6%
C 8	0.4%
E 6	0.8%
C 4	2.6%
E 7	0.4%
---	----
---	-----
C 1	77.0%
---	----
C 7	0.8%
---	----
C 9	0.4%



FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY

was found only in everyday conversation.

Differences between the various functions have been discussed in social and linguistic terms. Patterns have been emerging that have predictable qualities. In everyday and classroom conversations, for example, conditional questions always, and unmarked questions usually, correlate to their respective Functions I; rhetorical questions to the function of confirmation; and tag questions either to the function of confirmation, or to the function of further explanation and/or further conversation. In unmarked and tag questions, social factors must be taken into consideration in order to render the pattern truly predictable.

Language is definitely ascribed different communicative value in everyday communication than it is in classroom conversation. If the latter setting is as well to be a language-teaching situation, we must ask ourselves exactly what is being taught. Is it words alone, or sentences; or is it the two within the discourse? If conversation is to be exercised or acquired appropriately and adequately, it should be taught in a manner characteristic to that found in everyday situations.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. In recent years, a new interest for language functions has flourished in linguistic circles. Speech functions in particular have been discussed in diverse terms by such linguists as, for example, Fillmore (1973), R. Lakoff (1973), Green (1974), Morgan (1975), and last but not least, Labov (1972).

2. This concluding statement should not mislead the reader into believing a complete absence of theoretically oriented material in the ethnography of speaking. Lately, some remarkable progress has been made in this respect. For further information on this subject, I highly recommend the articles of J. Irvine and A. Salmond, in R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.) (1974), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. However, we have to be open to the fact that we are still far from a unified theory of speaking.

3. 'request' stands for the performative hypersentence: 'I ask/request you to tell me'. By reducing the hypersentence to its nucleous verb 'request', we hope to simplify the reading of the paradigm.

4. The function of *wâhi* 'TAG' as described in 5.2.9.2, is similar to that of 'you know' in English, or 'tu sais' in French. It is extensively used by some speakers, just as 'tu sais', for example, is much used by certain individuals.

5. Disjunctive questions include the following types: 'X or not-X', and 'X or X'. Yes-no questions are a variant of the 'X or not-X' type. Whenever this variant is found within a functional category to the exclusion of all the other disjunctive types, we shall discuss it under the specific label of 'yes-no questions'. However, it should be noted that these yes-no questions are always accounted for in the figures under the more general label, 'disjunctive questions'.

6. In adult-child verbal interaction, the adult asks questions twice as frequently (or even more) as the child. The frequency depends, of course, on the situation; nevertheless, adults do seemingly ask more questions than children. The same phenomenon has been observed in dialogues among children who did not know one another. In the following example,

the older (Speaker 1) is questioning the younger (Speaker 2). Age thus is an important factor in question-answer usages.

Speaker 1:

Q_1. yáh kv tehsetshv́:ni kátkek ahsatatasnéra?ke
not Q you-are-afraid some-time you-would-'harm-yourself-accidentally'
Aren't you afraid that you would accidentally harm yourself someday?

Speaker 2:

A_1. yah
no
No.

Speaker 1:

Q_2. yáh kv
no Q
No, eh?

Speaker 2:

A_2. yah ne taú:tu
not NOM it-could-be-possible
Impossible.

One of the two boys obviously tries to keep a conversation going. The two have met for the first time. Since the questioner is a few years older than the answerer, he is the one responsible for the conversational outcome. With Q_2, he is asking for further explanation on the one hand, and inviting the addressee to continue dialoguing with him on the other.

7. Although the queclarative type is less frequent than the disjunctive one, we put the latter in second position. The queclarative is going to be exemplified together with the most frequent--tag question type--in one and the same example.

8. See example (7.8), which is really a response of a third party to the preceding question in (7.7).

9. Function VIII, in spite of its low frequency, has the potential for a greater periodicity. Some questions in our data were border cases and might have qualified under Function VIII; see, for example, the first question in (7.42). Yet, in consistency with our methodology, where answers determine the function of the question, we had to dismiss them as possible Function VIII members. In (7.42), for instance, the answer was absent, until provided by the teacher in A_2. Perhaps we interpreted wrongly the following: 'No, I cannot tell you'. Assuming this to be the correct interpretation, the student himself is not conveying the meaning of Function VIII to the question.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this dissertation originally consisted in elucidating sociolinguistic patterns underlying Mohawk question-answer discourse, both in everyday and classroom settings. First, a linguistic groundwork was to be laid. This study thus began with a discussion of Mohawk interrogative surface features:

(i) the morphological composition of WH morphemes/phrases and their variants;

(ii) certain syntactic patterns of disjunctive questions.

Elements which were beyond the analytical scope are:

(i) the process of associating WH feature complexes to noun phrases;

(ii) the WH-movement.

We felt better equipped to analyze the derivational processes of WH questions within a semantically oriented discourse approach. Of necessity then, we elaborated a discourse framework. Questions were now viewed within the context of their respective answer, as discourse entities superordinated by:

(i) speech act conditions: the performative and deixes;

(ii) speech act preconditions (termed discourse presuppositions): shared knowledge; knowledge, motivation and power on the part of the addressee, etc.;

(iii) focus (discourse operator): related to stress assignment, assertion, clefting, and information reduction.

The theoretical frame of reference was that of generative semantics. Although it proved to be particularly well-suited to capture interrelationships between syntax and semantics, we still had to depart from it in a significant way (see (3 ii, iii)) in order to account for units larger than those of the sentence.

This framework permitted us to explicate Mohawk-particular structures. For example, we have suggested, firstly, that in Mohawk certain constituents of a sentence can be clefted, such as, for example, a verb or the negation. This finding is supportive of generative semantic claims that negation, for instance, is a higher predicate; secondly, that in Mohawk a WH question presupposes a definite and/or an indefinite answer. The latter is an assertion of the questioned element and is either implied in the definite answer, or else occurs in the form of an indefinite answer. Both type of answers are considered to be polite and acceptable by Mohawk speakers, which makes us wonder, on the one hand, about semantic properties characterizing WH questions in general, and the criterion of acceptability as known in Chomskian terms on the other hand. Maybe the latter is subject to value systems that differ from one speech community to the next. Finally, among the question types in Mohawk, we exposed one type not generally discussed in the linguistic literature--the negative, biased tag question type. On the surface, its structure is that of a negative disjunctive question introduced by the sentential adverb yah 'no'. Within the discourse, its meaning could best be explained by a tag-like representation. The manner in which the semantic structure relates to the surface one is another problem to be further investigated.

We have exposed different ways of treating the discourse elements presentedabove in (i - iii): the complex modalities of marked question types were handled in terms of discourse elements (i) and (iii); answer patterns were accounted for informally in terms of presuppositions (ii). A domain of future research remanent is the elaboration of a unified discourse grammar. It implies, among other things:

(i) further specifications and refinement of the discourse framework and its theoretical frame of reference;

(ii) the delineation and precision of the scope of each discourse element and their interaction;

(iii) the unification of discourse representations and/or formalizations.

We should remind the reader, at this point, that the elaboration of a theoretical framework has been only a means to an end--the end being structures of Mohawk question-answer usage in particular, and Mohawk conversation in general. We do not deny, however, that our empirical data has necessitated the choice as well as the modification of a discourse framework. More conversational data will have to be collected to verify the rules we have come up with, and to refine and supplement them where necessary.

The thrust of the thesis thus far has been from surface to semantics--from language without extralinguistic context to language within extralinguistic context.

We then moved on within a socially based linguistics, where referential (linguistic) meaning was joined with the social one, and linguistic discourse elements correlated to social features. The descriptive material of questions proved to be a valuable input to the functional study of question and answer usage. It became evident that the use of questions was subject to sociolinguistic rules. We thus claim that sociolinguistic behaviour is orderly and systematic. Its complexity, however, has permitted us the recognition of only a limited number of patterns, and this within the domain of functions. Our target was social functions of questions in everyday and classroom verbal interaction. We believe to have pointed out well-structured correlations between question types, social factors--such as settings and participants--and functions. In everyday setting, unmarked questions were usually used as requests for information, whereas at school this usage was infrequent. Instead, in the classroom proof of knowledge was most frequently requested. Here, questioning was usually the prerogative of one and the same person, the teacher; not so in everyday conversations. In the former, if ever a student dared to ask a question, its function would be that of delaying the normal question-answer interchange.

We propose a more thorough investigation of functions in classroom and everyday settings. In the Indian communities, social values and consequently speech functions are rapidly changing. If teaching methods of Mohawk as a second language are to be successful, they have to be representative of sociolinguistic behaviour that is relevant to the speech community in question.

Ultimately, we hope that this study will be of help to those who are or will be engaged in teaching their mother tongue as a second language. We allude to, of course, Indians who have not yet had the chance to learn their Native tongue.

As an immediate field of research we also suggest:

(i) systematization of factors such as participants and their rôle relationship, settings, and topics;

(ii) the description of a set of sociolinguistic rules[1]--relating social factors to social functions of question-answer usages;

(iii) the later development of a formal discourse system whose framework encompasses linguistic as well as extralinguistic categorical rules of the type familiar in generative semantics.[2]

A taxonomic approach to a situational grammar will thus take on the form of an explanatory theory, predicting language behaviour within social context.

Major applications of the findings could take on value: if they were to serve as an input into methods of first or second Native language teaching; if white teachers of Indian children were to increase their understanding of their students' sociolinguistic backgrounds; and if Native language teachers were to become aware, firstly, of structures characterizing Mohawk language--of linguistic and social patterns, secondly, of more usable, pertinent everyday patterns to be taught rather than classroom patterns, and consequently, of their need to create an atmosphere more conducive to everyday speech usage.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Context-sensitive rules might initially be written in terms of alternation and co-occurrence (Ervin-Tripp, 1971) where linguistic categories will be accompanied by rules for social selectors.

2. There is a possibility of relating discourse features in the sense of discourse entities (i, iii) to functional features in a formal approach, i.e. trees. Take, for example, tag question 5.3.9.1: its assertive content resembles that of its function--confirmation. The assertive aspect of questions seems to be linked to its functional rôle in conversation. We feel that assertions, as well as functions, could be formally analyzed in a unified manner, e.g. tree representations.

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APPENDIX I.

HISTORY OF KANESATAKE

The Mohawk people, or the People of the Flint, are one of the six tribes of the Six Iroquois Nations. According to their legends,[1] they used to live 'where the grass grew tall, and where the buffalo lived (The Great Plains). They lived beside the Great River (The Mississippi).' There they dwelt near the villages of the Wolf Nation (The Pawnees). For some reason, the Iroquois packed their belongings on their backs and migrated eastward to many areas: Georgian Bay (Hurons), along the Niagara River, south of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, east of the Appalachian Mountains (Cherokees) and down the St. Lawrence. Finally, the Mohawk People settled along the St. Lawrence near where Montréal now exists.[2]

With the coming of the French, including Champlain, Maisonneuve and others, the various Roman Catholic religious orders arrived also. One of these, the Messieurs de St. Sulpice received the Island and the Seigniory of Montréal in 1677 from the King of France for the sole purpose of setting up a mission for the protection, maintenance and the religious instruction of the Indians. This mission was built at the foot of Mount Royal, but was subsequently moved, along with the Indians, to Sault au Récollet nearby because of the displeasure it caused both the Sulpicians and the French immigrants. During this time period, the Indians were composed of families from the Mohawk, Algonquin and Nipissing tribes, with different linguistic affiliations.

There were two further land grants given to the Messieurs de St. Sulpice by the King of France in the region of the Lake of the Two Mountains.

One was requested in 1717 and confirmed 1718, 'to enable them (the Sulpicians) to transfer there the mission of the Indians of Sault au Récollet'.[3] This transfer took place a few years later in 1721.[4] Ownership of adjoining lands was requested in 1733 by the St. Sulpice order with the intimation that the Indians needed more land for their livelihood and in the following words: 'the Indians of the Mission of the said Lake of Two Mountains, being accustomed to often change their place of abode, and to render the said land more profitable' (doubtless for the Indians), 'it would, therefore, be necessary to extend the said land further than the three leagues, as set forth in the said Deed of one thousand seven hundred and eighteen.'[5] Thus it was that the Messieurs de St. Sulpice acquired an extensive portion of land on the north shore of the Lake of the Two Mountains. In 1733-1734, the Indians divided into two groups on this land: the Iroquois and the Hurons to the west of the Sulpician church and the Algonquins and the Nipissings on the east side of the church.

However, the Messieurs did not adhere strictly to the legal agreement with the French crown. They took unjust liberties with the land appointed for the Indians and sold large portions to non-Indians.[6] As well, they used large agricultural plots for themselves and their benefit. While the Messieurs cut wood (using cheap Indian labour) and sold it, they forbid the Indians to cut any more than what they themselves could use; for minor infractions of this 'law', there were numerous cases of the Messieurs imprisoning and beating Indian men and women.[7] This mistreatment on a large scale led to many frictions in the community.

In 1781, and numerous times afterwards, the Indians appealed to the Government in regard to their claims on the land. In one case in 1788-1789, Chief Augneeta asked for a new deed. The Law Officers of the Crown declared: 'whatever ideas they might have entertained of a title, we cannot perceive any such right in them'.[8] Every subsequent attempt by the Indians to obtain title to the land met with the same response: the land belonged to the Domain of the Crown, i.e. the Seminary.

As these conflicts continued, they naturally destroyed the confidence of the Indians of Oka in the rectitude and sincerity of their spiritual guides. Accordingly, the Indians, in 1868, resolved to abandon the Church of Rome,[9] and to use such means as they believed they could legally employ to cause the priests to leave the place and Seigniory altogether.

After the conquest of Canada, the purpose was entertained by the British government to confiscate all the properties held by the Sulpicians, the Récollets and the Jesuits. Action, however, was fully taken only on the estates of the Jesuits; the others were allowed to retain their property. No legal titles were, however, given to these properties; the occupants were merely left in possession.

The British government sought by the Act of Confirmation in 1841 to hold the Sulpicians to their legal commitments (under the Original Grants from the King of France) to the Indian people and to the use of the land for the welfare of the Indians. This was agreed to by the Messieurs; however, within a few years, the Seminary endeavoured to get rid of a part of these obligations, and to become absolute owner of the Seigniory of Two Mountains, by inducing the government of the day to set apart 1,600 acres of land, in the township of Doncaster, to the north of Montréal, to which the Indians were to be removed. The Seminary thus purposed to remain as absolute owner of the lands which were originally obtained rather for the Indians than its own use.

About the time 1868-1870, the Methodist Mission commenced in the Lake of Two Mountains region, and a small, wooden church was built on the property of an Indian woman. When the Sulpicians nefariously won a court case and tore this church down in 1875 because the building was 'trespassing' on their land, the Indians again were demanding justice from the government. Was not the land to be used for their purposes? It appeared not. However, after some years of deliberation, the government set aside 25,582 acres of reserve land in the Township of Gibson in the Muskoka District of Ontario. In 1882, 23 families went there and another 12 families arrived in 1883 from the Lake of Two Mountains.

Between 1868 and 1881, two-thirds of the Indians at Lake of Two Mountains had become Protestant; these represented the Iroquois (as well as a few Algonquins). The other one-third comprised of Algonquins who remained Roman Catholic. Those that went to the Gibson Reserve had become Methodist and represented one-third of the Indians that had been at Oka (which had been so called since 1867, after an Algonquin word 'oka' which means 'poisson doré' or perch). This reserve was paid for by the Seminary, who also agreed to erect suitable houses and pay the expenses of removal and indemnify the Indians for such improvements as they may have made at Oka.

However, the land in Oka was still held by the Sulpicians and the ill-feelings of the Indians towards the Messieurs still smouldered because of their injustices. So it was that in 1890, the Algonquins were given land in Maniwaki, 70 miles north of Hull, Québec, so that they might hunt. Yet, it was not until 1945 that the federal government bought from the Sulpicians parcels of land (totalling 2,300 acres) occupied by the Indians remanent in Oka, for the benefit of them. This is the situation today in Oka. The land is not set up as a reserve, because the land is owned by the government as Crown Land, nevertheless, the Mohawks can build, farm and cut trees on this property.

Today the two minority groups, the Nipissings and the Algonquins, have been assimilated linguistically by the dominant Mohawks. In 1970, the Kanesatake population was recorded to be 777;[10] but this does not represent the number of Mohawk speakers. Almost everyone older than eighteen has an active knowledge of Mohawk. Those below eighteen who do not speak the language are most likely to understand it. With a few monolingual exceptions among the older people, there is an active knowledge on the part of everyone of either English or French or both, The younger people today might know Mohawk, but English and/or French dominate due to the influence of schools and television. English perhaps predominates over French because of the former historical ties with the Protestant rather than Catholic Church, which has perpetuated the use of the English language over the subsequent generations. However, most of the white people in the village of Oka are French-speaking, therefore, a knowledge of French is necessary for the Mohawks.

POPULATION IN OKA[11]

	1733	1752	1823	1838	1864	1867	1881	1929[#]	1970	1973
Mohawks				343	484		358	451	777[*]	823 (541)
Algonquins	560	1060[@]	856	374		593	129	25		
Nipissings				372	105					
Hurons										
Canadians (mainly French)			169	200		263				915
Scottish				5						

[#] In 1882-1883, one-third of the Mohawks left for Gibson; this was 150 persons. In 1890, most of the Algonquins went to Maniwaki; perhaps the Nipissings went there too, being also a hunting tribe.

[*] The real population resident in Oka then was 495, not 777. The latter number indicates those Indians inscribed under the Federal law for the Indians. However, not all live on their lands for reasons such as work, etc. The number 495 indicates the number of Indians who actually lived in Oka in 1970. The real population in 1973 is 541, as shown.

[@] There was a small pox epidemic after this date which decimated the Indian population.

OKA STATISTICS

Different statistics were obtained from three governmental statistical organizations.

1. STATISTICS QUEBEC. (June, 1973).

Oka sur le lac	1456
Oka (village)	
Oka Indian Reserve	541

2. STATISTICS CANADA. (1971 National Census).

Oka	1424

3. DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, QUEBEC. (April 18, 1973).

Oka Indian Reserve:

On Reserve	541
Off Reserve	282
TOTAL	823

NOTE: 50% of Indians speak Mohawk, English, and French
20% of Indians speak Mohawk and English
20% of Indians speak Mohawk and French
10% of Indians speak only French

Therefore, 70% of Indians speak English
90% of Indians speak Mohawk
80% of Indians speak French

There are no Nipissings, most likely because they mixed with Mohawks long ago. There are bout 30 'Algonquins' who have also intermarried with the Mohawks.

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX

1. Aren Akweks, Migration of the Iroquois, pp. 3-5. Note: There is general disagreement among most reputable anthropologists as to the homeland of the Iroquois. Some scholars maintain that the Iroquois came originally from Georgia and the Carolinas, the home of the 'civilized' Cherokees. It has also been suggested that they came from the north, moving down the valley of the St. Lawrence under pressure from the advancing Algonquins. One source even places the Iroquois homeland in the Pacific Northwest. Yet according to James A. Tuck, 'The Iroquois Confederacy', Scientific American 3, 1971,

> 'Not until recently has it been realized that the Iroquois culture might simply have arisen in the area where the European colonists first encountered it', p. 32

that is, upper New York State. Supposedly, there is archaeological evidence collected at more than a score of sites over the past two decades that shows the Onondagas--the key tribe in the Confederacy--developed into full-fledged Iroquois from a preceding level of pre-Iroquois culture in the years after A.D. 1000 without ever leaving a 25-by-15 mile area in upper New York State near Syracuse. Whether one can assume that what is true of the Onondagas is true also for the other five tribes in the Confederacy is a matter of pure speculation.

2. In 1670, a number of individual Iroquois, converted by French priests, left their homeland in what is now New York State to live near Montréal. Their descendants now live at Caughnawaga, St. Regis, Oka and Gibson. See Indian Affairs and Northern Development Department, Government of Canada, 1970, Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands, p. 9.

3. Original Grant, 1718; in Beta, 1879, Contribution ...

4. O. Maurault in OKA: Les Vicissitudes ..., 1930, adds that the transport of the Indian cabins from Sault au Récollet to Oka was not terminated until 1734; (See also Messieurs de St. Sulpice, 1972, Hommage ..., pp. 4-7). Maurault adds that there were Iroquois, Hurons and Algonquins that emigrated from Sault au Récollet to Oka, and that they were joined there by the Nipissings in 1727 from the Mission of L'Île aux Tourtes.

5. Second Grant, 1735; in Beta, 1879, Contribution ...

6. Beta, 1879, Contribution ... , pp. 53-54.

7. Beta, ibid., pp. 54-55; 57-58.

8. Scott, Rev. William, 1883, Report ..., p. 26.

9. Protestant Defence Alliance of Canada, 1876?, The Indians ..., pp. 2-5.

10. Indian Affairs and Northern Development Department, Government of Canada, ibid., p. 9.

11. Ibid., p. 9; Also Québec Provincial Government, 1970, Rapport ..., pp. 80-81.